

Afghan Rule in Kashmir
(A Critical Review of Source Material)

**Dissertation submitted to the University of Kashmir for the
Award of the Degree of**

Master of Philosophy (M. Phil)

**In
Department of History**

**By
Rouf Ahmad Mir**

Under the Supervision of

Dr. Farooq Fayaz
(Associate Professor)



**Post Graduate Department of History
University Of Kashmir
Hazratbal, Srinagar-6**

2011



Post Graduate Department of History
University of Kashmir Srinagar-190006
(NAAC Accredited Grade "A")

CERTIFICATE

This is to acknowledge that this dissertation, entitled **Afghan Rule in Kashmir: A Critical Review of Source Material**, is an original work by **Rouf Ahmad, Scholar, Department of History, University of Kashmir**, under my supervision, for the award of ***Pre-Doctoral Degree (M.Phil)***. He has fulfilled the entire statutory requirement for submission of the dissertation.

Dr. Farooq Fayaz
(Supervisor)
Associate Professor
Post Graduate Department of History
University of Kashmir
Srinagar-190006

Acknowledgement

I am thankful to almighty Allah, our lord, Cherisher and sustainer. At the completion of this academic venture, it is my pleasure that I have an opportunity to express my gratitude to all those who have helped and encouraged me all the way.

I express my gratitude and reverence to my teacher and guide Dr. Farooq Fayaz Associate Professor, Department of History University of Kashmir, for his generosity, supervision and constant guidance throughout the course of this study. It is with deep sense of gratitude and respect that I express my thanks to Prof. G. R. Jan (Professor of Persian) Central Asian Studies, University of Kashmir, my co-guide for his unique and inspiring guidance.

My sincere gratitude to my respected teachers Prof. Mohd. Ashraf Wani, Prof. Bashir Ahmad Khan, Dr. M. Y. Ganie, Dr. Parveez Ahmad for their help, guidance and encouragement.

I wish to thank my parents, my family members, Javeed, Daddy, Mummy, Gowhar, Shaheen and my friends G. M. Bhat, Dr. Younis Dr. Altaf, Gowhar, Dr. Mudasir War, Dr. Shabir who stood by my side and prayed for my success. Special thanks to my Daddy and Uncle Muhammad Ramzan, who has been everlasting inspiration for me.

I owe my great gratitude to the faculty members of the department of History and Persian for their valuable support and help. I am particularly grateful to my

spouse, Rehana Mir who always stood beside me during the ups and downs of my life.

*Last but not least, the little ones Hadu, Muzaiib, Aaqib, Danu, Afrooza, Tariq, Shabu, Iram. They all were a source of joy, whenever I felt myself unnerved under the strain of job; may they grow into good, useful human beings. I shall fail in my duty if I forget to mention the contribution made by Sharp Documentation Centre, especially by **Irfan** and **Rouf** for their technical services which they rendered so craftly and carefully.*

Rouf Ahmad Mir

Contents

Title Page
Certificate
Dedication
Acknowledgement

Introduction Based on an Overview of Literature

*Historical Forces Responsible for the
Establishment of Afghan Rule in Kashmir*

Critical Analysis of Literary Historical Sources

Afghan Rule – The Folk Perspective

Socio-Cultural Impact of Afghan Rule

Chapter-1



Introduction Based on an Overview of Literature

Department of History, University of Kashmir

Kashmir is a land of fabled beauty and eternal romance. It is blessed by nature with beauteous scenery, wondrous fertility and salubrious climate. Writer described it as “one of the finest countries upon which the sun shines” and “the sub-Alpine region of Asia’s Italy” and unsurpassed land for its scenery, Kashmir is verily “the terrestrial paradise of the Indies. A fairy land, where each curve presents a grand picture and every horizon a new scene, each leaf a distinct lesson and each flower a new book. The poets have described Kashmir as garden land of picturesque scenery, lovely landscapes, unrivalled vistas, majestic forests, green pastures, shimmering waters of vast silent and transparent lakes and rivers, perennial snows, mighty chinars of snow-clad mountains rumbling cataracts and roaring waterfall.

It is, because of this beauty and charms that from the remote past Kashmir has recurringly been the focus of external concern. Possessed with a unique physical charm, the valley is located at a very strategic place, which provides it a commanding position at a cross border penetration towards South within the Himalayan chain. The mountainous region on the North-West of Indian sub-continent contains most of the lowest depressions in the vast Hindu-Kashmir-Himalayan chain dividing it from the rest of Asia. This penetration point is widely acknowledged as “the Corridor”. It is this “corridor” that has been witness to the penetration of numerous people belonging to different races, ethnic groups, cultural diversities and linguistic combinations. These include- the Aryans, Greeks, Scythians, Turks, Tartors, Mughals and Afghans. It has been the storm-gap through which passed the ebb and flow of the eternal struggle between the nomadic people of the central Asia uplands and the settled, opulent and cultured inhabitants of the plains.

Right from the period, when Afghanistan came under the political domination of Kushans and Buddhism flourished there, there existed political and cultural ties between Kashmir and Afghanistan. The connectivity between the two countries was so close that Kalhana lays the opening scenes of his Rajatarangi in the Afghanistan. Before we will

proceed, it will be in the fitness of things to discuss how Afghanistan emerged as a sovereign state.

In the first quarter of the 18th century A.D. the power and authority of the Safavi dynasty of Persia touched a low level, and fell from the grasp of a weak and worthless prince into the hands of a band of quarrelsome nobles. But soon a deliverer appeared in the person of Nadir Quli, a Turk who in 1729 expelled the Afghans from Isfahan and Fars and extended the Persian monarchy to its ancient limits. In 1736 he ascended the Throne of Persia as Nadir Shah¹.

Nadir Shah who engulfed the Afghan in his hurricane campaigns against the people of India dealt a deadly blow to the decadent Mughal Empire. In order to augment his force he had, however, to depend upon the goodwill of the Afghan whom he enlisted in ever larger numbers in his army. Among a band of Afghan nobles whom he patronized was a young soldier, Ahmad Khan of the Sadozai family of the Abdali clan, who took service under Nadir. He so distinguished himself by his pluck and dash and his organizing capacity, that he rose to the command of the Abdali contingent. At the time of the assassination of Nadir (1747), Ahmad Khan, then a young man of 24, had under his control 10,000 effective horse, and what was even more valuable, the treasure of Nadir Shah which included the koh-i-noor². With this treasure and his own personality and powers he was chosen by Afghan chiefs at Kandahar to be their leader and assumed kingly authority over the eastern part of the Nadir's empire, with the style of Duri-Duran, "pearl of the age". After which his clan came to be known as Durrani with Ahmad Shah. Afghanistan as such first took its place among the kingdoms of the world³. With the Mughal annexation of Kashmir in 1586 A.D, it was included as a part of Kabul Subha. During the Mughal rule there was close contact and commercial and political intercourse between the two Mughal sub-division-Kubal and Kashmir. Towards the middle of the 18th century when ill-governance in Kashmir under Mughal governors reached to its climax, it led to continuous rivalry between Mughal governors and Kashmir nobility. The state of affairs went from bad to worse when Qasim Khan, the last Mughal governor

indulged in insensate cruelty and there was wide spread distress in the land. Distressed at the depredation of Qasim, the Kashmir nobility took an impolite step in inducing Ahmad Shah Abdali to invade Kashmir and bring it to Afghan rule. Here it would be genuine to mention something about Ahmad Shah Durrani.

Ahmad Shah Durrani who conquered Kashmir in 1752 A.D., was the son of the Mohammad Zaman Khan, an Afghan of the Sadozai clan of the popalzai branch of the Afdabli tribe living in the province of Heart. Zaman Khan's father Abdullah Khan ⁴ was the son of Hayat Sultan. The Sadozai clan was so called on account of its chief Sado who had obtained certain concessions for Shah Abbas the great of Iran in the 16th century, Sados companion was Mohammad. From Muhammad Haji, Jamal Khan, the father of Painer Khan – whose son Amir Dost Muhammad Khan later ruled at Kabul – descended. Zaman Khan had migrated to Multan where Ahmad was born. The exact date of Ahmad's birth is however not known, though, the encyclopedia of Islam gives 1722, and the encyclopedia of Britannica gives 1724, as his birth year⁵. The Sadozai's to whom Zaman Khan belonged were– it is said– Shias, and hence a sunrise that they derived their name from Abd-i-Ali or the servant of Caliph Ali. Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din Asadabadi, widely, know as Afghani, accordingly spells the name Abdali. However, the Abdali later turned strict Sunnis ⁶. The second version is that they were called Abdali, because they were descended from Abdul, the founder of this clan, who was so called by his own Pir Khawaja Abdal Ahmad Chisti ⁷, a saint, Abdali had three grandsons called Popal, Barak, Haloko and Musa. Popal had six sons of whom the third was Bami Banis eldest son was Sudo.

The Bamzai in which the Vizarat was vested was another branch of the same clan. Second in influence to the Popalzai and greater in extent was the tribe of Barakzaie. The elder brother of Ahmad Khan was Zulfikar Khan. Before the advent of Nadir Shah, there was trouble in Iran when Zaman, Zulikar and Ahmad returned to Herat from Multan.

The Afghans revolted against Nadir Shah. He defeated them. By way of punishment Nadir removed the Ghilzais inhabiting Qandahar ⁸. During the execution of

his transfer of Afghans, Zulikar and Ahmad were taken prisoners presumably on account of some protest, Zalifkar and Ahmad struck Nadir as promising youths. The elder brother rose to the command of a large clan in 1737 and was in course of time made governor of Herat, where he lost his life in a fight with the Ghilzias. Ahmad was enlisted in the personal staff of Nadir on account of his bright features, his keen intelligence and conspicuous gallantry.

Haji Jamal⁹ – the father of Paimda Khan and grandfather of Dost Muhammad Khan - who was also a candidate, withdrew in favour of Ahmad Shah. Ahmad Shah was crowned in the Mosque at Qandahar by pouring on his head a measure of wheat, which to the Afghans is symbolic of abundance and prosperity. Ahmad Shah was thus the first to lay the foundation of the kingdom of Afghanistan. Haji Jamal first and later Shah Wali Khan Bamzai, was appointed Ashraf-uf-Wuzara or the prime minister¹⁰.

For 66 years (1753-1819), Kashmir remained under the rule of five Afghan kings, Ahmad Shah Abdali (1753-72), Timur Shah (1772-93), Zaman Shah (1793-1800), and Shah Shuja and Mahmud Shah (1801-19). Like the Mughal rulers they also sent their governors to Kashmir to rule for them. In all 28 Afghan governors and deputy-governors,¹¹ directly or indirectly ruled over Kashmir.

Afghan governors and deputy-governors of Kashmir (1753-1819)

Name of the Ruler	Name of the Subedhar	Deputy subedhar	Tenure	Year of Appointment
Ahmad Shah Abdali (1753-72)	Abu-llah Khan	-	6 month	1753 ¹²
	Ishaq Khan			
	Abu-llah Khan			
Do	Kabul	-	4 months & seven days	1753 ¹³

Do	Sukhjiwan Mal	-	8 years, 4 months & 8 days	1753-62 ¹⁴
Do	Noor-ud-Din Khan Bamzai	Buland Khan	2 years	1762-64 ¹⁵
Do	Buland Khan	-	Few months as the governor but several months as the deputy	1765 ¹⁶
Do	Noor-ud-Khan (2 nd Time)	Jam Muhammad	1 year & 6 moths	1765-66 ¹⁷
Do	Lal Mohd Khan	-	6 months	1766 ¹⁸
Do	Khuram Khan	Faqir Khan	1 year	1766-67 ¹⁹
Do	Noor-ud-Kahn (3 rd Time)	-	1 year	1768-69 ²⁰
Do	Khuram Khan (2 nd Time)	-	6 months	1770 ²¹
Do	Amir Khan	-		
	Jawan Sher		2 years	1770-72 ²²
Timur Shah	Amir Khan			
	Jawan Sher (2 nd		4 years & 4	

(1772-93)	Time)	-	months	1772-77 ²³
Do	Haji Karimdad Khan	-	7 years	1777-83 ²⁴
Do	Azad Khan	-	2 years,5 months	1783-85 ²⁵
Do	Madad Khan	-	9 months	1785-86 ²⁶
Do	Mir Dad Khan <i>Alakzai</i>	-	2 years, 1 month	1786-88 ²⁷
Do	<i>Mullah</i> Gaffar Khan	-	4 months	1788 ²⁸
Do	Juma Khan <i>Alakzai</i>	-	4 years, 7 months	1788-93 ²⁹
Zaman Shah (1793-1800)	Rahmatullah Khan	-	3 months, 12 days	1793 ³⁰
Do	Mir Hazar Khan	-	1 year, 2 months	1793-94 ³¹
Do	Rehmatullah Khan	-	4 months	1794 ³²
Do	Kifayat Khan	Mirza Badr-ud-Din	3 months	1794 ³³
Shah Shuja Muhammad Shah	Muhammad Khan Abdullah Khan <i>Alakzai</i>	Atta Muhammad Khan	8 months	1795 ³⁴

Do	Atta Muhammad Khan	-	11 years, 6 months	1806 ³⁵
Do	Wazir Shah Muhammad	Atta Muhammad Khan	7 years	1806-13 ³⁶
Do	Wazir Fateh Muhammad	-	Few months	1813 ³⁷
Do	Sardar Muhammad A'zim	-	6 years	1813-19 ³⁸
Do	Jabbar Khan	-	Few months	1819 ³⁹

Some of the Afghan governors were excellently law-abiding and humane. Some oppressed both the Muslims and Hindus and squeezed them like the horse leech⁴⁰. There were other, too, who were examples of wretched bigotry, and caused Shia-Sunni riots on several occasions, and couple of occasions, Kashmiri Pandits, who happened to be the only Hindus in the country, were savagely treated and tyrannized⁴¹.

Thus sixty six years of Afghan rule is characterized by an exemplary official brutality⁴², co-ercion, economic exploitation, wastage of state resources, decline in agricultural production, drain of wealth by imposing heavy taxation, mis-governance, corruption and political chaos and instability and elite luxuries aristocratic tastes.

Though we come across grim tastes of Afghan brutality in different chronicles and historical texts but no systematic attempt has been made by the researchers to utilize this mass of historical literature for constructing the history of Afghan rule in Kashmir. The

information documented by Kashmir historians and other non-Kashmiri writers with regard to various shades of Afghan rule in Kashmir stands unorganized and no serious attempt has been made to examine and evaluate the information available hitherto in a systematic and under well planned historical manner.

The present study seeks to analyze and review all the available historical and semi-historical relics in consonance with latest principles of historical inquiry and thus present reliable and up-date historical recordings of the period of Kashmir history, when Afghans ruled over it (1753-1819).

In addition to scores of oral sources, archeological material and other unofficial documents, study seeks to exam the following historical texts produced by different local writers. While doing critical evaluation, the structured focus shall be laid to substances, narrative and methodology adopted for historical investigation.

Some of the books which provide information on Afghan rule are as;

Gulshan-i-Dastur by Nath Pandit

This Persian account on Kashmir history was written by Nath Pandit S/o Tanay Pandit of Ahalmar, Kashmir at a time when Ahmad Shah Durrani held Kashmir as a part of the vast Afghan empire (1755). It serves as an encyclopedia, as it contains information on almost every aspect of Kashmir history⁴³.

Bagh-i-Sulaiman by Mir Sa'adullah Shahadabi

It is a Persian account, in verse which traces Kashmir history from earliest times down to the reign of the Afghan Subedar Juma Khan Alakzai (1787-93). It is an abridgement of Muhammad A'zam's Waqi'at-i-Kashmir in so far as its information on the history of the pre-Afghan rule is concerned. Besides being a commentary on the

Sufis and the saints, the chronicle is the most important source of information on the events which occurred during the reign of the Afghans in Kashmir⁴⁴.

Majmu'at Tawarikh by Pandit Birbal Kachru

Written from the earliest times, the work was compiled in 1835-36. For the early part of his work, the chronicler appears to have mainly relied upon the Sanskrit and Persian sources like Rajataragini, Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir by Haider Malik, Mukhtasar Ta'rikh h-i-Kashmir, Waqi'at-i-Kashmir, etc. The work contains adequate information on the history of the Mughal and the Afghan rule in Kashmir. Besides geography, climate, fauna and flora, trade and culture, the chronicle catches a view of the agrarian relations that obtained during the period under review. The role of Zamindars, *Jagirdars* and a host of Mansabdars is substantially highlighted in the said account⁴⁵.

Keefyat-i-Intizami Mulk-i-Kashmir by Ramjoo Dhar

It was compiled around 1883. One of its chapters is exclusively devoted to the description of the Afghan rule in Kashmir. A detailed account is available particularly on variety of subjects such as taxes and cesses collected, magnitude of the state-share, method of assessment, mode of revenue collection, land revenue functionaries and their relations with the peasantry, *ijaradari* system etc. A reference to the total revenue of Kashmir during the reign of Muhammad A'zim Khan, is not far to seek⁴⁶.

W'ajiz Tawarikh, by Ghulam Nabi Khanyari

The author of this Persian manuscript is Ghulam Nabi and not Mullah Abdu-'n Nabi as stated by the author of Ta'rikh-i Hasan. It covers the period from the origin of Kashmir upto 1893 A.D. It is a short political history with a brief account of the Muslim saints. It also sheds light on the natural calamities which overwhelmed the valley from time to time. It also describes the geographical features of Kashmir and narrates the chronology of its rulers from earliest times⁴⁷.

Ta'rikh-i-Hasan by Ghulam Hasan Khoihami

It is the most comprehensive and coherent of all the indigenous Persian sources of Kashmir. It was compiled by Ghulam Hasan Khoihami and contains historical literature from the earliest times to 1885 A.D. The work is in four volumes. Its first volume deals with the geology of Kashmir, its fauna and flora, archaeological remains, internal and external trade, sources of irrigation, agricultural and horticultural produce, revenue of Kashmir under the Mughals and the Afghans, bridges, gardens, shawl trade, etc. Volume second narrates political history from the earliest times. This volume in particular and other volumes in general depict information on various aspects of agrarian system of Kashmir. Third and fourth volumes are devoted to describe the life of the saints, scholars and poets who lived during the rule of the Sultans and the Mughals in Kashmir. Its first, second and third volumes are published. Its second volume has been translated into Urdu by Moulvi Ibrahim in 1957. The importance of this work lies in the fact that the events discussed therein are largely corroborated by Persian sources authored by Narain Koul 'Ajiz, Muhammad A'zam and Birbal Kachru.

Apart from above sources, there are many other manuscripts preserved in the Research & Publication Department, Srinagar, which are useful for furnishing us stray references on the subject under reference. Similarly, the importance of the travelogues written about the realities of life in contemporary Kashmir cannot be underplayed. The travel accounts left behind by the travelers like, Trebeck and Moorcroft, G.T. Vigne, Young husband, Frederick Drew, etc., also serve as an important source of information. Equally important are the epigraphic evidences engraved on the stone slabs at Jamia Masjid and the great hillock wall near Kathi Darwaza, Srinagar. The revenue documents and the sale-deeds preserved in the Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, also provide very useful information on the agrarian economy of medieval Kashmir. The Persian manuscripts available in different national and international libraries and museums contain valuable information on the subject under debate.

The plathoria of the literary material available in different written and oral forms though provide penetrating insights into the character of the Afghan governing culture in

Kashmir, it fails to shed light on the socio-cultural and religio-economic shades of Kashmir people during the period of great historical crises. The Kashmir mind and its psycho-social personating find little space in Persian chronicles, as the chronicles almost attempted to document political activities of the period which had direct bearing on the relations of realm and region. Further, to avoid the displeasure of the Afghan officialdom, the chronicles hardly bothered to pen down the coercive practices of Afghan governing elite in Kashmir. The entire narrative of pain experienced by Kashmiris is thus, documented in the oral sources, which even today stand unnoticed by modern historian. In the present study along with the conventional sources, the researchers sought to focus other non conventional sources which spoke volumes about the variegated shades of Afghan governance in Kashmir.

Conclusion

Persian language, which attained the status of official language during the Mughal rule in Kashmir, not only retained the same position but during the Afghan period (1753-1819) it continued to enjoy the status of an official language. Sensing the magnitude of Afghan patronage towards Persian language, Kashmiri scholars produced number of works on history, literature and other allied fields in Persian language. Taking a clue from Mughal historical scholarship and the indigenous history writing tradition of Kashmir, the local scholars, with all their handicaps and limitation undertook the job of documenting the events and developments, which were of marked significance. These works which were referred to earlier, though suffer from number of limitations, serve as a primary source for understanding various shades of Afghan governance in Kashmir. True, these works do not come up to the expectations of a modern day researcher, when put in comparison to latest principles of historical inquiry, but, judged by the medieval standards of historiographical investigations, these works may prove of immense value and help in enabling the researcher to reconstruct and recast the socio-cultural history of Kashmir under the Afghan rule.

Further, the researcher has not lost the sight of a mass literature found in oral traditions of Kashmir. The oral traditions in circulation even today has significantly helped the researcher to understand the folk response and popular perspective with regard to Afghan governing culture in Kashmir.

Notes and References

- 1) Bamzai, P. N. K, *Political and Cultural History of Kashmir*, p. 431.
- 2) Sofi, G. M. D, *Kasheer* Vol. I, p. 159.
- 3) Saleem Mohammad, *History of medieval Kashmir*, p. 160.
- 4) Sofi, op. cit, p. 157.
- 5) Saleem, op. cit, p. 157.
- 6) Sofi, op. cit,
- 7) Munshi Abudl Karim, *The Waqiat-i-Durrani* (Trs) into Urdu by Mir Waris Ali Sofi., p. 3.
- 8) Saleem, op. cit, p. 159.
- 9) Sofi, op. cit, p.
- 10) Ibid, p. 160.
- 11) Saleem, op. cit, p. 160.
- 12) *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, f. 75 a.
- 13) *Intizami-Mulk-i-Kahsmir*, ff. 1-3.
- 14) He was a *Khatiri* by caste. He was first in the court of Ahmad Shah Durrani. Later in 1754, he was sent to Kashmir to assist the *Afghan* governor Abdullah Khan in the conduct of the administration as the Diwan of the province. Very soon Sukhjiwan revolted against the *Afghan* rule and assumed the reigns of the government and began to rule on behalf of the *Mughal* emperor ‘Alamgir II. He

possessed excellent qualities; was almost a Muslim; repaired and restored the shrines and gardens; fed two hundred people with meals everyday and revered *darveshs* and poets; *Ma'asir-al Umara'*, H.Beveride, vol. I pp. 869-70; *Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh*, ff. 75a -77a.

- 15) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 16) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 17) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 18) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 19) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 20) Once does not find any reference of Faqir-u'llah Khan in the contemporary literature. There is only one modern historian who mentions his name as the *subedhar* of Kashmir: R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 351.
- 21) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 22) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 23) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 24) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 25) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab.
- 26) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab; Khanyari op. cit, ff. 84-85ab.
- 27) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab; Khanyari op. cit, ff. 84-85ab
- 28) Khanyari op. cit, f. 2a.
- 29) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 1-2ab; Khanyari op. cit, f. 85a.
- 30) Dhar, op. cit, f. 2a.
- 31) Dhar, op. cit, ff. 2ab; *Majmu'at Tawarikh*, ff. 223b-24a; Khanyari op. cit, f. 86b.
- 32) Dhar, op. cit, f. 2a.
- 33) Dhar, op. cit., f. 2a.
- 34) Dhar, op. cit, f. 2a; Khanyari op. cit, ff. 86b-90a.
- 35) Dhar, op. cit, f. 2a.
- 36) Dhar, op. cit, f. 2a.
- 37) Dhar, op. cit, f. 2a.
- 38) Dhar, op. cit, f. 2a.
- 39) Mirjanpuri Khalil, *Ta'rikh-i-Kashmir*, Per, ms. R & P. Deptt., Srinagar.
- 40) Parmo, *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*. p. 353.
- 41) We have the harrowing example in *Mir Hazar Khan*, Governor in 1793. See *Mir Hazar Khan* infra.

- 42) Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 196.
- 43) Mushtaq, op. cit, p. 36.
- 44) Ibid, p. 38.
- 45) Bhat, op. cit, p. 208.
- 46) Mushtaq, op. cit, p. 39-40.
- 47) Bhat, op. cit, p. 225.



A grey arrow pointing to the right, located to the left of the title box.

*Historical Forces Responsible
for the Establishment of Afghan
Rule in Kashmir*

*C
h
a*

pter-2

Department of History, University of Kashmir

The Mughal rule in Kashmir lasted for 167 years from (1586-1753). Although a fairly long period, its record is one of missed opportunities. There were indeed great land marks of progress and advance during the reign of the great Mughals.¹ There was much give and take both culturally and economically. But the reign of later Mughals, particularly, stands out as a monument of chaos, popular frustration, official corruption and economic degradation. The successive rule under Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan attempted to keep the hopes of Kashmiris alive, they attempted to give Kashmir a clean administration, peace and economic prosperity as much as could be possible in those times. They provided patronage to Kashmiri saints, men of art and letters, and nobles, irrespective of religious considerations. They paid visits to the valley as often as they could. They kept themselves in close touch with the conditions of people and the conduct of government, and took personal interest in their welfare and tranquility. Akbar laid out the new palace of Nagar Nagar and within the surrounding wall the Mughal nobility and

soldiery was put up to avoid menace and molestation to the local population. Jahangir and Shahjahan laid out the famous Mughal gardens, and built the Pacca Mughal highway which connected Kashmir with Punjab .They spent crores of rupees on these projects where Kashmiri labour was entirely employed, and thereby economic condition was considerably improved.²

After Aurangzab (1707), however, the signs of approaching chaos and maladministration became prominent. During this effete and warring age Kashmir began to be neglected and it began to recede into the background. Her economy was tremendously disrupted; often gangs of robbers closed the roads to trade and peaceful traffic, resulting in utter desolation and disorder³. What is worse Kashmir was ruled by Governors and Deputy-Governors who were mostly Ignorant of local conditions and traditions and also lacked administrative experience. With their officials and soldiery they behaved like an army of occupation, and bled Kashmir white. They were amateurs and came to make hay while the sun shines, and to have gay time too. There were civil wars, sectarian riots, and repeated marauding incursion of the hill-tribes from the lower Jehlum valley and Poonch. As if these calamities by themselves were not sufficiently appalling to bend if not break the spirit of the Kashmiris, there occurred on several occasions devastating earthquakes and floods which caused widespread chaos, poverty, starvation and lawlessness, that compelled many people to quit their country.

During the entire span of later Mughals, the valley witnessed unprecedented political fragility, economic crises and sectarian clashes. Right from Bahadur Shah's time (1707-1712) to last Mughal Deputy Subedhar Malik Hassan Irani 1751, Kashmiris suffered severest onslaughts at the hands of Mughal governing elite in Kashmir, the contours of Mughal nobility, though extended to every corner of the valley; yet, no significant change towards progress was seen on the ground.

The misgovernance was recurrently accompanied by natural calamities in the shape of earthquakes, famines, floods and draughts. No serious attempt was made by any

Mughal Subedhar to mitigate the genuine grievances of calamity stricken people. Instead, amid appealing heights of economic depression caused by political mismanagement and recurrently natural catastrophes, the alien governing structure never showed any kind of mercy in the shape of tax relief, and other allied relief measures. The middle ring governing structure exhibited greater degree of harshness in the collection of exorbitant taxes and government share in kind. This resulted in acute alienation among Kashmir towards the forces of Empire. The regional aspirations were never provided a space in the political construct of Mughal Empire in Kashmir. The regional forces could have attempted to express their resentment much earlier but the Mughal Subedhars, applied the apparatus of force to muzzle the agents of dissent in such a harsh manner that common people could hardly muster courage to protest openly against Mughal brutality. Instead, Kashmiris adopted a unique mode of resentment which approved for the desertion of land and maintaining absolute silence even against appalling heights of administrative injustice and oppression.

On a political front, the Bombas of Jehlum valley and the Gujjars of Poonch always attempted to strike against the forces of empire represented by the subedhars and deputy subedhars. They were always restive to strike against Kashmir frontiers and at times succeeded in making inroads to royal palace in Srinagar.

The people were so terrorized by the recurring onslaughts of Bombas, Khakis and Gujjars that Kashmiris developed a distinctive psycho-social trait of cowardness and fear psychosis. These traits with the passage of time became the predominant characteristics of Kashmiri personality.

Some of the Mughal governors finding themselves surrounded by bewitching scenic beauty busied themselves in other immoral and sensuous activities. The Mughal Subedhar Jafar Khan (1707-1709), ignorant of state craft, indulged himself in licentious activities and the lower rung nobility too in tune with Mughal aristocracy followed the

same way. This resulted in total chaos which resulted in absolute discontent among the various sections of Kashmir society.

The Shia – Sunni Conflict

Kashmir had amongst the Muslim population both Sunni's and Shia's. Sunni's had been in overwhelming majority⁴. Under wise Mughal governors who possessed no sectarian prejudice, the relations between the Sunni's and Shia's in Kashmir remained generally cordial. Under bigoted Sunni or Shai rulers they became very strained and caused communal disorders and riots. The sectarian discord which had its roots in Chak period (1554-1586 AD) once again surfaced during the time of deputy subedhar Inayat-uualh (1717-1720). Since Inayat Ullah was a local noble from Sunni majority sect, he was not liked by Shia nobility in particular and Shia population in general. Further, the minority sections like Pandits and Shais felt themselves more comfortable under Mughal subedhars than Kashmir local nobility. This is from the fact that whenever any local was given chance to act as an incharge deputy subedhar, the followers of other community resented the move, resulting in violent sectarian clashes.

As in the past, so during the first half of the 18th century, Shia-Sunni conflicts led to the change of political guard in Kashmir. This proved one of the major agents, for the downfall of Mughal in Kashmir and it had a role in the subsequent establishment of Afghan rule in Kashmir (1753-1819)⁴.

Rule by Proxy

After the death of Bahadur Shah, communication between Kashmir and imperial court at Agra remained disrupted so there started a new system to rule over Kashmir that is to send deputies by those who were assigned the governorship of Kashmir. It was not therefore possible for Bahadur Shah's first governor of Kashmir, Jaffar Khan⁵ to assume his duties for some time. The nobles who were assigned the governorship of distant Kashmir in the time of Bahadur Shah and later Mughal empires, were reluctant to proceed to Kashmir at once to take charge,⁶ fearing the loss of their influence and power

at the imperial court in their absence. Consequently there grew a new system that is governors who were now sending their deputies to Kashmir to run its administration on their behalf. This system of rule by proxy remained till the end of Muslim rule in Kashmir. It is not therefore surprising, that Jaffar Khan and his agent Abdullah Dehbedi indulged in the worst type of rule and made unjust and cruel exaction from the people⁷. Jaffar Khan passed his days in drink and debauchery and entirely neglected the administration of the province. Condition of the people of Kashmir became miserable. The deputies busied themselves in filling their coffers by squeezing the last penny from the cultivators and traders. People had no means of seeking redress of their grievances as the nominal governors and the emperor remained too busy in their scramble for power at the imperial court to safeguard the interest of the people of a very distant province like Kashmir⁸. Ultimately during the times of Jaffar Khan the patience of people had reached the limit of endurance, rose in revolt and set fire to the residences of the deputy and other high officials. Fortunately for the people, Jaffar Khan who had contracted a serious illness passed away after an ignoble rule of year and quarter⁹.

Khakha-Bomba and Gujar Intrusion

The intrusion into the valley of marauding hill tribes of the lower Jhelum valley, known as the Khakhas and Bombas, and the Gujjars of Punch and freebooters of Kishtwar, occurred so often when they found the central administration weak and the country defenseless. They came, killed looted and returned. Their repeated lootings and killings struck such a terror in the minds of the Kashmiris that their name became a bywords for sometime very deadful¹⁰. Their predatory operations continued until 1846 when Maharaja Gulab Singh, assisted by the British troops, was able to comb them, kill them and render them incapable of repeating their forays.

During the administration of the deputy-governor Ali Muhammad Khan (1713-15), the Bomba chief, Muzaffar Khan, having highhandedly annexed Karna, started depredations in the Baramulla district also. Ali Muhammad Khan crushed him and put

his grandson Haibat Khan under arrest as security for peace¹¹ then he arrested another freebooter, the Gujar chief Abdur Razzak Khan of Punch, and treated him ignominiously¹².

Again in 1732, during the deputy-governorship of Abu Barakat Khan, Raja Haibat Khan, the chief of the Khakhas and Bombas, raided and pillaged Baramulla¹³. Abu Barakat Khan, however, purchased piece by paying a large sum of money to Haibat Khan. But it turned to be an illogical compromise, since it whetted the greed of the invaders for more¹⁴. For the second time Haibat Khan rose in revolt in 1736. His followers carried fire and sword through the length and breadth of Baramulla. At this time Mir Jafar Kanth, a well-known Kashmiri general, marched at the head of a considerable force against the rebels, he chastised them severely and compelled them to accept his terms¹⁵.

Unfortunately, Abu Barakat khan did not show Mir Jafar Kanth the consideration which he deserved for accomplishing his duty so heroically. He felt so offended that he behaved unpatriotically¹⁶, he incited the Bomba leader to revolt and to repeat plunder, arson and death in the valley. Abu Barakat khan failed to cope with the trouble and the Kashmiris revolted against him in 1737, and destroyed the bridges on the Jehlum. Abu Barakat khan by way of retaliation set fire to some quarters of Srinagar which destroyed 2,000 dwelling. Then he bought off the Gujar chief Abdur Razzak of Punch, and there ensued terrific Guerilla war-fare between the Kashmiris and Gujars. Many lives were lost. Abu Barakat khan was defeated and he fled to Lahore. Kashmir relapsed into chaos. The happenings in the Punjab and Delhi as a result of Nadir Shah's invasion cut off all communications with Kashmir and considering it a favourable opportunity the Kashmir Leaders declared their independence¹⁷.

In the meantime Fakhar-ud-Dulah, who had only recently handed charge of the governorship of Kashmir, succeeded in obtaining a mandate from Nadir Shah to be the rule of Kashmir on his behalf accompanied by an army of the Gujars of punch; he came

from Lahore to establish his claim. But the Kashmiri Leaders refused to admit and rose in revolt¹⁸. However, he proved stronger for them he harassed them, killed many and collected huge indemnities. When, however, Nadir Shah made peace with Muhammad Shah in 1739, Inayatullah khan was reappointed governor of Kashmir and Fakhr-ud-Daulah was compelled to surrender and to quit. Abu Barakat khan once more came as deputy-governor on behalf of Inayatullah Khan. This time he acted differently for he turned a traitor and challenged the authority of his chief. This led to a bloody war between the two. The field adjoining the Jama Masjid was littered with dead bodies. Inayatullah khan was defeated and compelled to quit Kashmir. Now Abu Barakat Khan became ruler of Kashmir by his own right-undaunted Inayatullah khan assembled a large following of the Khakhans and Bombas of Muzaffarabad and Karna and once more assaulted Abu Barakat Khan. On his part Abu Barakat khan collected huge army of the Gujars of punch and made a surprise attack on Inayatullah Khan. There ensued a massacre of the Gujars, Khakas and Bombas. In between many Kashmiris were also killed and much property was destroyed. Peace was, however, restored when Inayatullah khan was assassinated¹⁹.

Fresh trouble was created by Babar Ullah Khan, the Thenedar or district commissioner of Baramulla. Having conceived the idea of independence he collected a large following of Khakha, Bomba, Gujar and Kishtwari freebooters and caused an uprising against his chief, Abu Barakat Khan. The people in the valley once more fell a prey to disorder, loot and arson. The sad state of affair continued till Abu Mansar Khan was appointed governor in 1745. His deputy Jan Nisar Khan Sherjang (1745) soon got hold of Abu Barakat Khan and expelled him to Delhi. Then he seized all rebel Leader, killed many imprisoned many, and sent their ring-Leaders Babar Ullah Khan to the gallows. Only then he was able to establish peace and order. Yet he was not able to restore the economic stability of the country. As a result of repeated lootings and killings by the khakhans, Bombas and Gujars, the means of livelihood in the valley had been reduced to the minimum. Not satisfied with their distress Afrasiyab Khan, the next

deputy-governor (1748-51), wounded the feelings of the masses by treating them ruthlessly and unsympathetically. Innumerable people died like dogs due to starvation and those who could quit Kashmir forever and settled in the Punjab and Delhi²⁰.

The great Famine

It appears that the fates were dead - set against the people of Kashmir at this period. As during (1746-47) there occurred a flood which washed off the ripened crops. The loss was all the more unfortunate because the reserve food stocks had been exhausted during the preceding years of political upheavals and chaotic administration. The result was a severe famine which wiped off more than three fourths of the population of the valley through death, emigration and diseases. Dead bodies lay strewn on the ground, unburied and uncremated, to be eaten by vultures. It was a horrible sight to find the famished survivors crawling their way to India and dying like flies due to exhaustion and hunger. Most of the Kashmiris who were fortunate to reach the plains settled permanently there. Some of them went to Delhi and later made a mark both at the imperial court and with its successors, the British²¹.

Rise of Abdali

And while the black famine was taking its cruel toll of life in the valley, an event destined to have far reaching consequences for its inhabitants was taking place in distant Persia. On 2 June 1747, Nadir Shah was assassinated and his Empire dissolved. Among his chief commanders was Ahmad Shah Abdali, an Afghan who had risen to high rank in Nadir's service. When Nadir was assassinated Abdali returned to his own country and with the help of his tribe and force of Qizilbash, he established himself at Herat, captured Kandahar and expelled from Kabul, Nadir Shah's governor of that province. Having thus reduced to obedience the whole of Afghanistan proper, he assumed the royal title.

Ahmad Shah Abdali next crossed the Indus with 30,000 horses and invaded the Punjab and after capturing Lahore pushes on to Delhi. His advance was, however, halted

at Sirhind by the army of Mughal emperor led by the Prince Ahmad Shah. A bloody battle ensued, resulting in Abdali's defeat and retreat towards Afghanistan.

Anarchy in Kashmir

Devoid of armed might, ill-supplied with troops and ammunitions, the Subhedar of Kashmir, Adul Mansur Safdar Jung, could hardly maintain authority in the provinces, and his deputy, Afrasiyab khan, was hard put to it to either render assistance to the famine-stricken people or keep the turbulent nobles under check. The latter opened secret negotiations with Ahmad Shah Abdali and promised all aid to him in a campaign against the nominal Mughal ruler. Accordingly Ahmad Shah sent his governor of Peshwar, Jahan Khan Bamzai, with a letter for the Mughal governor of Kashmir, requesting permission to visit the valley of whose beauty he had heard so much. But Abdali never visited Kashmir, his object in sending this mission being only to gain information on the defenses of the province²².

In 1748 when emperor Muhammad Shah was still alive, Abdali sent a force of Afghans under Asmat ullah khan to occupy Kashmir, but though he succeeded in penetrating as far as Srinagar, he could not withstand the onslaught of the forces which Afrasiyab khan was able to muster. Asmat ullah was killed and his troops were scattered and annihilated.

With the accession of Ahmad Shah to the throne of Delhi, events in Kashmir took a turn for the worse. There were incessant feuds among the followers of the nobles and the Mughal governor. Afrasiyab khan continued to hold the chair of deputy governor for nearly five years more (1748-53) when he was killed by poison by an employee who had been purchased by Abdali's governor of Peshwar to commit the heinous act. Complete anarchy followed Afrasiyab's death. He was succeeded by his minor son born of his Kashmiri wife. Malik Hassan Irani, the child's guardian who wanted to usurp all power, got him assassinated after only two months, but Hassan Irani was himself dismissed soon after when the emperor Ahmad Shah appointed a new governor-Alaquali khan.

But in the meantime political conditions in the Punjab and north western provinces had altered materially. Ahmad Shah Abdali during his third invasion of India in 1751 demanded the accession of the Punjab and Multan. The Mughal governor of the Punjab withstood the invader for four months but had ultimately to yield to the Afghan forces of Abdali. Before the invaders could reach Delhi the pusillanimous emperor Ahmad Shah had purchased safety by disgraceful treaty which ceded the Punjab and Multan to Afghanistan.

End of Mughal Rule in Kashmir

After his appointment as Governor of Kashmir, Alaquali Khan thought it prudent to appoint a Kashmiri, Mir Muquim Kanth, as his deputy. Mir Miquim Kanth took some measure to fill the treasury which was empty. He affected economy in expenditure by disbanding some of troops and reducing the salaries of the other. This spread disaffection in the army²³ Abul Qasim Khan, son of Abul Barakat khan, seized the opportunity to create trouble for the Deputy Governor. He won over the armed force to his side, drove away Mir Muquim Kanth and declared himself the independent ruler of Kashmir. Abul Qasim Khan created a reign of terror.

In 1753 A.D; when Ahmad Shah Abdali, after looting and plundering Delhi, came back to Lahore, Mir Miquim Kanth and Khawaja Zahir Didamari, the two influential leaders of Kashmir distressed at the depredations of Qasim, took an impolitic step in inviting Ahmad Shah Abdali to invade Kashmir and to annex it to his kingdom. Ahmad Shah Abdali was quick to accept the invitation and in 1753 A.D²⁴, sent a strong force of Afghan soldiers under Abdullah Khan Ishk Aqasi to conquer Kashmir. Abul Qasim collected his army at Shopian, at the foot of Pir Panjal pass, and got ready to fight the Afghan invaders. In the battle that ensued, both the sides lost heavily in men and arms. Ultimately, Ishk Aqasi won over Abdul Qasim Khan's commander Khan Khaiibri to his sides. Abdul Qasim Khan lost heart had escaped from the battle field but was arrested

and taken to Kabul...Ishk Aqasi entered Srinagar in triumph and planted the Afghan flag on the rampart of the fort at Nagar. It marked the end of the Mughal rule in Kashmir²⁵.

Before concluding the chapter let us briefly discuss later Mughals and important events associated with them:

Mughal Emperors	Governors	Deputy Governors	Important Events
1. Bahadur Shah (1707-12)	1. Nawazish Khan (1707-07)		Interested himself in calligraphy and poetry only.
	2. Jafar Khan (1707-09)	1. Abdullah Khan Dehbedi	During his regime of one-year and three months he addicted himself to drinking

			and issued reckless orders which caused much distress to the people.
	3. Ibrahim Khan alias Ali Mardan Khan (1709-09)	2. Ditto	Died after three months
	4. Nawazish Khan (second term) (1709-11)	3. Arif Khan	Arif Khan established peace and Kashmir began to show signs of returning prosperity. But natural calamities undid his good work; heavy rains destroyed crops; fire in Safakadal (Srinagar) gutted 40,000 dwellings.
	5. Inayat Ullah Khan (1711-12)	4. Amanat Khan	Amnant Khan was a kind and just administrator, but he died after nine months.
		5. Mushrif Khan (three months)	Death of Bahadur Shah in 1712.
2. Jahandar Shah	6. Inayat Ullah Khan (second term) (1712-13)	6. Ditto	The Bomba chief Raja Muzaffar Khan caused depredations in Karnal; troops were rushed against him, but assassination of Jahandar Shah stayed firm

3. Farrukh
Siyar
(1713-19)

7. Sadat khan
(1713-17)

7. Ali
Muhammad
Khan
(1713-15)

action.

Action against the Bomba chief Raja Muzafar Khan was resumed in right earnest. He was found to come to terms and his grandson Haibat Khan was taken to Srinagar as security for his good conduct. Abdur Razak Khan, the rebel chief of the Gujars of Punch, was humiliated and forced to pay huge indemnity for causing unrest and depredation in the valley.

8. Azam Khan
(1715-16)

9. Ali
Muhammad
Khan
(second term)
(1716-17)

10. Ahtiram
Khan
(1717-17)

He put down recalcitrant

	8. Inayat Ullah Khan (third term) (1717-20)	11. Mir Ahmad Khan (1717-20)	elements with a high hand.
4. Muhammad Shah (1719-48)	9. Ditto	12. Ditto	Serious Hindu-Shia-Sunni communal conflicts caused in 1720 by Mullah Abdun Nabi, alias Mahtavi Khan.
		13. Abdullah Khan Dehbedi (second term) (1720-20)	
	10. Abdul Samud Khan (1721-23)	14. Monim Khna (1720-20)	
		15. Abdullah Khan Dehbed (third term) (1720-21)	
		16. Abu Barakat Khan	In 1722 Abdul Samad Khan suppressed communal disturbances and restored order.
		17. Arif Khan (1723-23)	

	18. Najeeb Khan (1723-23)	Abdul Samad Khan who was dismissed in 1723.
11. Azam Khan (1723-24)	19. Abdullah Khan Dehbedi (fourth term) (1723)	Severe famine of 1723, rice became as precious as gold.
12. Inayat Ullah Khan (fourth term) (1724-25)	20. Fakhr-ud-Din Khan (1724-25)	Inayat Ullah Khan died in 1723.
13. Aqidat Khan (1725-27)	21. Abu Barakat Khan (second term) (1725-27)	Administration deteriorates and disorder spreads far and wide.
14. Aghar Khan (1727-29)		With notorious Abu Barakat Khan as deputy, law and order appointed, both high and low suffered the consequences.
15. Amir Khan (1729-36)	22. Abu Barakat Khan (third term) (1729-31)	Although himself only a deputy-governor Abu Barakat Khan appointed Jaliluddin Khan his own deputy (naib-i-naib).

	23. Ahtiram Khan (1731-31)	Severe famine and assassination of notorious grain stockists.
	24. Abu Barakat Khan (fourth term) (1733-37)	Bomba risings, killings and lootings in Baramulla under Raja Haibat Khan, suppressed by Mir Jafar Kanth.
16. Dil Diler Khan (1736-37)	25. Jaliluddin Khan (1737-37)	Dispute between Abu Barakat Khan and Mir Jafar Kanth led to depredations by the Gujars of Punch and chaos in the country in 1737.
17. Fakhar-ud-Daulah (1737-38)	26. Qazi Khan (1737-37)	Rebellion of Mir Jafar Kanth.
18. Inaya Ullah Khan II (1738-40)	27. Hassamuddin Khan (1738-38)	The deposed Fakhar-ud-Daulah imprisoned Hassamuddin Khan, the deputy, and in 1738 brought a mandate from Nadir Shaj to rule over Kashmir. But Kasshmiris rose against him, refused to recognize him and compelled him to quit.
	28. Abu Barakat Khan	Abu Barakat Khan fell out with his chief Inayat Ullah Khan; many lives were lost in the scuffle. Defeated

		(fifth term) (1739-39)	Inayat Ullah Khan recovered authority.
	19. Asad Ullah Khan (1740-44)	29. Abu Barakat Khan (sixth term) (1745-45)	Assassination of the rebel leaders and murder of Inayat Ullah Khan by Abu Barakat Khan, Baburullah Khan's rebellion, and Bomba and Gujar depredations.
	20. Abu Mansur Khan (1745-48)	30. Jan Nisar Khan Sher Jang (1745-45)	Arrest and externment of Abu Barakat Khan and assassination of Babarullah Khan and other mischief- mongers.
		31. Afrasiyab Khan (1745-48)	Kashmir suffered devastating effects of famine and civil strife caused by the followers of Mahtavi Khan in 1748.
5. Ahmad Shsh (1748-53)	21. Abu Mansur Khan (second term) (1748-53)	32. Afrasiyab Khan (second term) (1748-51)	Afrasiyab Khan assassinated in 1751.
		33. Ahmad Khan, son of Afrasiyab Khan (two months) (1751-51)	
		34. Malik Hasan	

	Irani	
	(two months)	
	(1751-51)	
22. Quli Khan	35. Mir Muqim Kanth	For the first time a leading Kashmiri noble, Mir Muqim Kanth, was appointed deputy-governor; rebellion of the soldiery under Abul Qasim Khan son of Abu Barakat Khan, because Mir Muqim Kanth resumed their jagirs and reduced their pay. Mir Muqim's house was set on fire and he retired. Abul Qasim Khan proclaimed himself governor. Mir Muqim Kanth and Khwaja Zahir approached Ahmad Shsh Abdali, at this time master of the Punjab, in 1752, to annex Kashmir.
(1751-51)	(1751)	

Conclusion

The foregoing narration provides enough cues for the researcher to conclude that as against established opinion that Kashmiris have developed collective grudge which

culminated in the popular resentment of regional forces against Mughal realm holds little ground in view of the events, which did take place during the entire Mughal occupation of Kashmir, particularly, during the period of latter Mughals. The arguments of regional sentiment stands unwarranted as we find that some influential sections of Kashmiri society, especially Pandits, Shias and Gujjars found themselves uncomfortable when any Kashmiri noble was assigned the job of naib subedharship by otherwise appointed Mughal governors. The vested interests seemed hardly to be governed by regional colour, character and cultural distinction. What mattered most to the forces of dissent and disagreement was nothing than their personal materialistic interests. True, there were other forces, also responsible for the debacle of Mughal rule in Kashmir, which among other include recurring sectarian clashes, unfriendly attitude of governing elite, particularly, during the times of natural calamities and the presence of successive weak latter Mughal emperors in Delhi. The local and the Mughal Persian chroniclers, abound in references, wherein, Kashmiris were shown geometrically divided over a sensitive issue of the extension of Mughal sovereignty over Kashmir. This is evident from the fact that even during the period of proxy Mughal governors, Kashmiris showed little disconsolation against the defective Mughal governance in Kashmir. The invitation by Kashmiri nobles like Mir Muqim Kanth and Khawaja Zaher Didmari to Ahmad Shah Abdali, too, was not the result of any regional perspective and sentiment but the move was conditioned more by personal consideration and objectives.

Notes and Reference

- 1) Parmo, *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*. P. 346.
- 2) Vinges, GT., *Travels Account*, Vol. III, p. 23.

- 3) Sarkar J.N, William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, p. 378
- 4) Parmo, op. cit, p. 340.
- 5) Bamzai, P. N. K., *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir*, p. 415.
- 6) Fock, Mohd-i-din, *Tawarikh-i-Kashmir Mukamal*, p. 578.
- 7) Khaniyari, Gulam Nabi, *Wajiz-ut-Tarakih*, p. 199.
- 8) Khaniyari, op. cit, p. 172.
- 9) Kachru Birbal, *Majamatul-i-Tawarikh*, p. 177.
- 10) We have still its recollections in the terms, *Khukh*, and *Bumb*, by which Kashmiri Mothers frighten their children, the same way as the name, Bonie does in Europe.
- 11) Fock, op. cit., p. 582.
- 12) Parmo, op. cit., P. 343.
- 13) Khaniyari, op. cit., p. 185.
- 14) Parmo, op. cit., P. 343-344.
- 15) Khohami Hassan, *Tawarikh-i-Hassan*, p. 355.
- 16) Kachru, op. cit., p. 192-193.
- 17) Khohami op. cit., p. 409.
- 18) Fock, op. cit., part II. P. 208.
- 19) Khohami op. cit., p. 423.
- 20) Dadmari Khaja Mohd. Azzam, *Wakati-i-Kashmir*, p. 214.
- 21) Khohami op. cit., p. 320-321.
- 22) Khaniyari, op. cit., p. 193.
- 23) Rao S. V, *History of Kashmir upto 1947*, p. 179.
- 24) Ibid, p. 180.
- 25) Khaniyari, op. cit., p. 199.

Chapter-3



Critical Analysis of Source Material

Adequate attention has been paid by scholars to ancient and medieval Kashmir, but the period from eighteenth century onwards has not been the subject of any comprehensive study. The chapter on Kashmir in the Cambridge History of India has more details, but it is based mainly on the Mughal sources, and concentrates more on political events. A more recent work is G. M. D. Sufi's *Kashir*, a history of Kashmir from the ancient times to the present day. The scope of this work is so wide that it was not possible for him to utilize all original authorities. Few chapters that he has devoted to Kashmir under Afghan's are brief, uncritical and lacking in historical perspective. The present study attempts to evaluate the primary sources which throw some invaluable light on variegated shades of Kashmir politics and society mainly written in their official Persian language. Guided by medieval historiographical canons, Kashmir chronicles remain abundantly focused to document political happenings, leaving history unnoticed together much important facets of Kashmir.

The sixty six years of Afghan rule (1753-1819) is characterized by an exemplary official brutality, coercion, economic exploitation, wastage of state resources, decline in agricultural production, drain of wealth by imposing heavy taxation, misgovernance, corruption and political chaos, instability and elite luxuries aristocratic taste.

Though we come across grim tastes of Afghan brutality in different chronicles and historical texts but no systematic attempt has been made by the historian to utilize the mass of historical literature for constructing the history of Afghan rule in Kashmir. The information documented by Kashmir historians and other non-Kashmiri writers with regard to various shades of Afghan rule in Kashmir stands unorganized and no serious attempt has been made to examine and evaluate the information available in vernacular literature. The present study seeks to analyze and review all the available historical and semi-historical relics in consonance with latest principles of historical enquiry and investigation and thus present a reliable and update historical recordings of the period of Kashmir history, when Afghans ruled over Kashmir (1753-1819).

There are ofcourse, number of Persian manuscripts available in different libraries which provide information but mostly this information is regarding political events and is based on hearsay. Thus keeping the above mentioned facts into consideration it is not feasible to review all sources, available, but only those who have exclusively dealt with the period under debate. Some such sources are as: -

Gulshan-i-Dastur by Nath Pandit

The manuscript basically deals with the major aspects of the revenue administration which was operational during medieval Kashmir with particular focus on revenue administration and allied subjects in Kashmir under the Afghans. Hardly any shade of agrarian structure in Kashmir stands unnoticed by the chronicler. The author while documenting the revenue profile, though inadvertently provide enough clues for indentifying principle causes for the agrarian crisis in which Kashmir was caught up during 18th and 19th century.

The worst dimension of the harsh tax exactions that too, during the times of natural catastrophies like floods and famines, forced marginal peasants to dessert the occupational lands and to migrate to the distant lands of Punjab. In an extreme clime of insecurity, oppression and excessive taxation greater proposition of the peasantry found themselves unprotected, hence unable to plan for resistance against the exploitations or oppressions; the only way out for them to escape the inhuman or climate excesses was therefore, the migration, which in turn was bound to engender agrarian recession besides build up staggering pressure on those peasants who did not migrate but stayed back in the villages. According to Nath Pandit, unmindful of their tax paying capacity peasants were bound by the existing method of assessment to bear the economic obligations of their fleeing fellow villagers. Nath Pandit, the writer of the present chronicler mentioning that in the event of the flight of any peasant from a certain village, his arrears on account of the borrowed seeds and Takavi were recovered as per the custom of the country from his fellow villagers.

M. A. Kaw in his book, *The Agrarian System of Kashmir*, further elucidates this grey shade, by furnishing additional causes, other than excessive taxation for mass migration of Kashmiri peasants during the medieval Afghan state in Kashmir: According to him *“Such kind of social obligation accompanied by the most essential factors of oppressive conduct of the medieval state and its underlings, maximization of exploitation, devastating effects of the natural calamities, severity of the ‘begar’, frequent inroads of the marauding tribes, political uncertainty following administrative contradictions and intermittent wars among the imperial officials, may have left no choice with the peasantry except to leave the valley and wander from place to place for finding relatively a better mode of livelihood. However, it is scarcely necessary to point out here, that the option of the peasantry for peripatetic life, was reflective of an act of helplessness rather than a willful tendency aimed at organizing, a passive resistance”*.

Unlike Mughal agrarian system, where Mansabdars and Jagirdars enjoyed immeasurable administrative and revenue powers, the brunt of the staggering burden stemming from the Ijaradari system or else the imposition of tax on the Mansabdars and Zamindars ultimately fell on the basic producers who had, therefore, every ground to lose interest in the land thereby plan for their survival outside the valley.

Comparing the administrative measures of Mughals with Afghans, the chronicler states that it can be safely argued that the administrative measures of the Mughals were still soft and mild when compared with the Afghans who enforced quite stringent measures in their dealings with the Jagirdars.

For its indepth and comprehensive description of different aspects of Kashmir, particularly during Afghan government, Mansabdars and Jagirdars were subject to official coercion, if they failed to deposit the official share of the revenue to government treasury. The author of the chronicle, *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, gives a horrible picture of this category of landed elite. He writes:-

“Like mansabdars, a tax called Baj was levied on the Zamindars also. In the whole process, peasants were most hit...the Jagirdars were disillusioned as their whole

property was liable to be seized immediately after their death. Comparatively, the given act of the Afghan state was cruel and reflected naked injustice with the children of the deceased Mansabdars/Jagirdars who were thus doomed to lead an indigent life”. In short, for the revenue administration in Kashmir, the manuscript under survey can be dubbed as Kashmir agricultural gazetteer. The author of the manuscript while documenting the mode of expenditure and income structure generated through Rasum, land tax and other sources provides a detailed description of different revenue officials ranging from Zamindar to village Chowkidar. The details besides giving the pen picture of the responsibilities and functions of multiple of revenue officials acquaints the reader with psycho-social make up of the Afghan officialdom. For an objective analysis of Afghan governing mechanism, these details can be of invaluable help for the future researchers. About the involvement of soldiers in the revenue collection, Nath Pandit writes as under:

-

“Both mutasddi and mahsil were synonymous, ‘Sehbandi’ literary denoted soldiers or peons who helped officials in collecting the revenue during the harvest season. They might have been paid directly by the amils as there are no sehbandi charges mentioned in the contemporary sources.

The chronicle attempts to clear doubts by drawing a line of difference between the various revenue officials, which otherwise were taken as one. For example, qanungo and chaudhari were taken as one but the chronicle explains the two expressions with a slight degree of deviation. According to the writer:

“Like qanungo, chaudhari, too was a pargana official with the difference that while the former was associated with the process of assessment, the latter was connected with the operation of revenue collection”.

Another merit of the work at hand is its documentation of different units known as Parganas in medieval administrative set-up. The description of the Parganas reveals to the reader the contours and the character of medieval geography of Kashmir and provides penetrating insights into the topographical characteristics of the valley.

As stated earlier that the manuscript under analysis serves as the Gazetteer for Mughal and Afghan revenue administration, the writer has not lost the sight of month wise commutation rates per Kharwar in view of marked variation in stocks. True, its cost might have remained low at the time of harvesting, but once the stocks started running out, the cost would go up. In order to regulate this very fluctuating trend, the government seems to have justifiably workout a durable schemes where-under the average prices of the paddy per Kharwar were separately prescribed for all the twelve months of the year thereby anticipating the fall out of the conditions of scarcity and abundance well in time.

Month-wise commutation rates per Kharwar	
Month wise name of each Kharwar	Commutation rate per Kharwar of paddy during different months of year
1 st month Kharwari	480 dams
2 nd month Kharwari	240 dams
3 rd month Kharwari	160 dams
4 th month Kharwari	120 dams
5 th month Kharwari	100 dams
6 th month Kharwari	80 dams
7 th month Kharwari	69 dams
8 th month Kharwari	60 dams
9 th month Kharwari	54 dams

10 th month Kharwari	50 dams
11 th month Kharwari	44 dams
12 th month Kharwari	44 dams

Source (Gulshan-i-Dastur)

Thus, we may conclude by saying that this Persian account on Kashmir history written by Nath Pandit S/o Tanay Pandit of Ahalmar, Kashmir at a time when Ahmad Shah Durrani held Kashmir as a part of the vast Afghan empire (1753), serves as an encyclopedia for it contains information on almost every aspect of Kashmir history. The author chronicles the history of mankind, right from the advent of Adam. As a naturalist, the author boasts of the beauty of Kashmir and rates it with a “terrestrial paradise”. He sketches out a brief description of several industries that flourished in the 18th century Kashmir and talks about various social groups inhabiting the city. Besides artisans, a host of craftsman finds mention in the account. Significant, the author draws our attention towards the most diversified class of the peasantry dwelling in the villages, engaged in the agricultural operation and producing both *Kharif* and *Rabi*’ crops on the land. According to the author, the per-unit crop yields markedly varied from each other. While making mention of the characteristic features of agrarian history, the chronicler details out information on several units of weight, measurement and currency together with the *mahsul* and the functionaries involved in its collection. The chronicler also points to various customs that obtained to the detriment of the peasantry. Substantial information on the then existing production relations in agriculture, is also traceable from the chronicle. Particularly, the working of the *Jagirdari* and the *ijaradari* systems find an adequate mention in the account. The rules governing the inheritance and division of property among the *zammdars*, the classification of rights on the village land, the imposition of taxes on the subjects and the branding of horses maintained by the *mansabdars*, occupy a sufficient space in the manuscript. The appropriation of revenue

on the assigned lands and its distribution between the *jagirdars* and the state and similar other subjects are covered in the account. A comparison between the nature of the state existing before and after the Afghan occupation of Kashmir in 1753, is indeed remarkable. In short, the manuscript has eighty chapters in all on different socio-economic, politico-administrative aspects of the 18th century Kashmir history.

Bagh-i-Suliman by Mir Sa'adullah Shahabadi

It is a Persian account in verse which traces Kashmir history from earliest times down to the reign of the Afghan subedhar Juma Khan Alakzai (1787-93). The work is an abridgement of Muhammad Azams Waqit-i-Kashmir in so as its information on the history of pre-Afghan rule is concerned. The mention of Sufis and saints and their role in shaping the history of Kashmir from time to time has found place in the said chronicle. Political events took place during the Afghan period and their impacts on Kashmir have not escaped the attention of the author. The events which took place during the period under review and the subsequent forces which worked for the annexation of Kashmir by Sikh; in 1819 has very well placed in the said chronicle.

The important feature of the work is the description of several inhuman taxes and cesses imposed by Afghans upon the people in general and the peasants in particular. The work also throws light on the economy of the time, besides the forces worked for the economic crises in which taxation policy of Afghan was one. Not only has this but the work also offers detailed account of the drain of wealth from Kashmir during the period under study. This is perhaps the only chronicle where in we find details about, the role and impact of Zamindar and Jagirdars etc. who contribute towards this drain of wealth. The working of institutions like that of *Jagirdari* and the *Ijradari* provides us crystal clear picture about the happening in Kashmir during the said period, besides the above mentioned facts the role of natural calamities like that of the floods, earthquakes and especially the effects of famines that undertook the valley from time to time is also penned down by the author.

The references to the factors underlying the agrarian crises in Kashmir during the period under study helps us to understand not only the economy of the time but also provides clear picture of Kashmiri peasantry and their subsequent migration from valley time to time due to lack of patronage from ruling class. According to the author ruling class was directly responsible for the crises and migration of people to quote him, “Sukhjiwan arranged to send precious commodities and all sorts of cash and kind to Kabul, Suffron, Furnishings, Shawls, Carpets, Copper Utensils and Glassware were sent through caravans of horses accompanied by slaves and maid servants. So beautiful were the gifts that left very little desire in the heart of the Afghan emperor to desire for anything more in fact, the Afghan kings seldom showed interest in regulating the harsh and exploitive conduct of their respective subedhars via-a-via the peasantry in particular and other subjects in general”.

The author also highlights as to how land tax structure itself was also instrumental in unleashing food scarcity and that too when there was seemingly no crop-failure, every peasant was allowed to retain half of his produces, out of which he bore the expenditure incurred on the maintenance of the village and its records.

According to author not only land revenue but Kahmiris have to pay many taxes and cesses among them mention of *‘hububat’*, a sort of (allowance) exacted by the land revenue functionaries in addition to their salary. Thus we may summarize that the land revenue was charged according to the customary law (dastur). But anything realized over and above that was bound to irritate them as it dispossessed them of the maximum of their surplus and forced them thereby to lead a life below of their subsistence level. Whereas, we have ample evidence to suggest that on account of the countless imposts, cesses and other related levies, the peasantry registered acute improvishment.

Thus the work under debate is extremely useful to understand the history of Afghan rule in Kashmir. Though for pre-Afghan period, the author seems to have largely relied on the information supplied by Narain Koul Ajiz and Muhammad Azam, but the

history of Afghan rule in Kashmir is incomplete without making the reference of said chronicle.

Majmu-at-Tawarikh by Pandit Birbal Kachru

The work gives elaborate description of revenue territorial units and a special crop associated with particular Pargana. About the barley cultivation, the author states that like Pargana Lar, barley was raised elsewhere in the valley. Regarding the method of its cultivation, the writer opines that barley was normally grown on land dependent upon periodical rains, hence required no weeding or manuring, one or two, inter millet ploughing helped in the growth of the plants, the grain of which was often mixed by the millers in the wheat. From the in-depth study of the source under reference, it becomes evident that in Kashmirs pulses culture, the thrust was not exclusively laid on Mong, Masoor, Maha, Motch and Mash as stated in Akbar Nama by Abul Fazl, but according to the Kachru, pulses of all kinds were raised on the land dependent upon periodical rains.

Several varieties of oil seeds formed a part of the agricultural produce in Kashmir. From the contents of the Majmu-at-Tawarikh, it is amply clear that, here in Kashmir, oil was not only extracted from Tilgoglu seeds but taken from alish and oil as well, the oil seeds thus grown were consumed for cooking as well as lighting purposes. According to the author of the work in hand, since Kashmir abounded in walnut trees, walnuts served as an alternative source of oil used for cooking and lighting. Besides, throwing light on agricultural activities carried by Kashmiri peasants during the period under review, the work provides a pen picture of Kashmiris domestic life. It also gives a clue about the standard of life, which was conditioned more by principle of domestic needs than that of any luxurious fashion or taste.

The author, while analyzing the role of geographical factors in shaping the socio-cultural tastes of people, gives an elaborate detail about the distinctive dietary tastes of Kashmiris. For instance, the abundant use of Kashmiri salt tea known in vernacular as “Nun Chai” stands as referred to in comprehensive detail in the work. The author attempts to place its origin against peculiar Chinese Turkistan socio-climatic background.

In order to substantiate his argument, he refers the names of places, like Tibet, Yarkand, Khotan, Kashgar, where salty tea stands in abundant use as in Kashmir. The historian besides describing the medicinal value of this salty drink, mention wide variety of the cherished Kashmiri drink “Chai”.

Another interesting area that Birbal Kachru treads is that he intends to furnish the reader the mode of rationing of important major grains. The work gives a first rate information about the transportation of paddy and other grains for the consumption of city population. According to the writer on reaching the city, the grains were stored in the state granaries for onwards distribution among the city consumers at the rates prescribed by the state. The distribution of the grains was made on the basis of the rationing for which the Afghans carried out house to house census and accordingly supplied each family with ration. This might have served a twofold purpose, a methodical distribution of food grains and regulation of prices.

An outstanding contribution of Birbal Kachru’s historical narrative is the elaborate description of various skilled and non-skilled categories of Kashmiri work force. A glimpse of social composition, drawn from the account, suggest that during Afghan rule in Kashmir, there existed divergent castes, sub-castes and ethnic groups yielding legitimacy through variety of channels which among other things include, economic affluence social status, proximity to the court, member of Afghan governing officialdom, religious elite and feudal magnets. The social mapping given as such by the work under review stands to be of immeasurable importance for the scholar who intends to pursue research on social history of Kashmir.

Equally important is the detail of welfare measures, initiated by Sukhjiwan Mal, the Afghan governor (1753-1762) to mitigate the distress and the pain of the people caused by devastating famine. The writer of *Majmatul Tawarikh* while documenting the horrible effects of the catastrophe, reports that Sukhjiwan Mal not only distributed the residue of one lakh kharwar as seeds and Taqavi among the empty handed peasants for the ensuing year but reduced and exempted the official share from the lands drastically

effected. The writer further records that the poverty of the peasantry was so deep rooted that, they could not liquidate the cost of the loan even till the end of the Afghan rule though mode of repayment was fixed in a manner that the peasants had to simply pay 1 trak per Kharwar after every harvest.

Concise Information Regarding the Occurrence of Famines in Kashmir during Afghan Rule (1753-1819)

S. No	Rule at the Centre	Governor posted at Srinagar	Source of the Famine	Year of Occurrence	Source
1.	Ahamd Shah Abdali	Sukhjiwan Mal	Untimely rains	1755	<i>Majmu'at Tawarikh</i> , ff. 211ab; <i>Ta'rikh-i-Hasan</i> , Urdu, trans., vol. II, p. 450.
2.	Do	Noor-ud-Din Khan <i>Bamzai</i>	Severe cold culminating in immaturity of crops	1754-54	<i>Majmu'at Tawarikh</i> , ff, 211 ab
3.	Do	Amir Khan Jawansher	Do	1771-72	<i>Majmu'at Tawarikh</i> , ff. 211 ab
4.	Timur Shah	Do	Do	Not known	<i>Majmu'at Tawarikh</i> , ff. 219-20 ab
5.	Do	Juma Khan Alakzai	Excessive rains followed by flood	Do	<i>Majmu'at Tawarikh</i> , ff. 223 ab
6.	Shah Shuja	Ata Muhammad Khan (Deputy)	Severe Flood	1801	<i>Majmu'at Tawarikh</i> , ff 213 ab; <i>Ta'rikh-i-Hasan</i> , Urdu, trans., vol. II, p. 494.

7.	Do	Do	Excessive cold resulting in immaturity of crops	1805	<i>Majmu'at Tawarikh</i> , ff. 231 ab.
8.	Shah Muhammad Shah	Muhammad A'zim Khan	Unfavorable weather conditions	1813	<i>Majmu'at Tawarikh</i> , ff 231 ab; <i>Ta'rikh-i-Hasan</i> , Urdu, trans., vol. II, p. 506.

Keefyat-i-Intizami-Mulk-i-Kashmir by Ramjoo Dhar

This Persian manuscript has been written by Ramjoo Dhar as mentioned above. The work under debate offers penetrating insight into the nature of Afghan governing culture in Kashmir. The work inadvertently provides immense clues about the political anarchy, court intrigues and the conflict of interest between the Afghan central authority and the regional forces. Though, the author seems hardly interested in identifying the hidden forces, which were at the root of political vandalism during the Afghan rule (1753-1819) in Kashmir, but it indirectly exposes the weakness of Afghan administrative set-up which to great extent provided legitimacy to peoples discontent and alienation.

The work entitled “*Keefyat-i-Intizami-Mulki Kashmri*”, apart from being a narrative of political developments, also documents the devastating impact of recurring natural calamities on the socio-economic fabric of Kashmiri society. How the carelessness on the part of Afghan governors in Kashmir precipitated the matters has also been penned down by the writer. Instead of providing relief and comfort to the already fleeced Kashmiri, the work provides enough clues about the co-ercive measures of Afghan governing elite and their local collaborators in collect official share in kind and cash from Kashmiri peasants. The unfriendly attitude of Afghan subhedars in Kashmir, particularly, during the periods of extreme crises caused by natural calamities, further deepened the roots of alienation among Kashmiris against the foreign political structure.

The narrative under review does not give all these details with an objective to project the Afghan governing culture in a grey colour but the details provide enough material for the researcher to ascertain the underlying negative effects of all these developments on Kashmiri collective psyche.

From an administrative point of view, the details about the revenue estimation and the structure of expenditure pattern, by contemporary writer is always considered to be of invaluable importance for future researchers to evaluate and assess the over all administrative performance of any particular political regime. The details regarding the various revenue formulations documented in the work under debate provides enough material about the variegated crop cultivation, imports and exports and other allied revenue generating sectors in Kashmir. True, the manuscript, inspite of the various merits of historical nature, suffers from variety of shortcomings. For example, the author skips the record of some major events which occurred during the period under review that had a direct bearing on the contemporary political-economic profile of Kashmir.

Further, the manuscript maintains intriguing silence with regard to peasant migration, which became a recurring phenomenon during the timid Afghan governors in reaction to heavy policy of land exaction, rasum and other negative innovations.

Ramjoo Dhar in his work while referring to injudicious and harsh taxation system, put into operation by Afghan subedhars in Kashmir, provides enough evidence about the aristocratic and fabulous life style of Afghan governing elite. To see that the fabulous life style of the ruling class was effectively maintained, optimum revenue resources were mismanaged and channelized by the state to the benefit of the ruling class, while taking away maximum, from the peasants. To accomplish this objective, the peasantry, in the first instance, was made to clear the financial obligations of the state. Only thereafter were they permitted to appropriate for themselves what was indeed mere residue. In this way, three fourth of their gross produce was in all siphoned off from them so that for the greater part of the year, they were forced to lead a life of below subsistence level.

Wajiz-ut-Tawarikh by Ghulam Nabi Khanyari

The manuscript with all its limitation, offers significant details about the regional geographical setting and the work as such can prove very fruitful for the researchers, seeking to study Kashmir history from the point of view of historical geography. Not only the physical features of Kashmiri distinct geo-climatic profile are given in detail, the author of the manuscript attempts to identify even the sources of variegated water bodies of Kashmir. The Kashmir Karewas and the details about the wet lands of the valley occupy special space in the manuscript under reference. The author in tune with the spirit of other medieval chroniclers offers comprehensive details about the various natural catastrophes with which Kashmiris were confronted with in medieval times, particularly during the period under review. The estimated losses, caused by these recurring floods, earthquakes, fires and famines provide enough clues about the magnitude of the human pain and about the official apathy which always compounded the distress and sufferings of the commoners.

Dotted with pilgrimage sites, Kashmir is gifted with the blessings of elevated and enlightened saintly souls and people of Kashmir have always kept these, exalted souls in high veneration. Even after their demise, Kashmiris, true to their plural traditions have built number of '*aastans*', shrines across the valley over the mausoleums of these saintly personalities. One cannot understand in true historical context and spirit the distinctive Kashmir personality without taking note of the contributions and the influence of these saints on the socio-cultural history of Kashmir. The author of the work under debate gives a brief but lucid account of biographical sketches of different indigenous and central Asian saints who settled in Kashmir.

Siyahatnamah by Mir Izzatullah

This forgotten account is written when Kashmir was ruled by independent Afghan chief Atta Mohammad Khan (1806-1813). The account written by Mir Syed Izzatullah Mughal is very valuable to understand the background of Moorcroft's journey. He had preceded Moorcroft to prepare the route of his journey from Shahjahanabad (Delhi) via Kashmir, Ladakh, Yarkand, Kashgar, Khotan, Samarkand, Bokhara, Khulm, Badakhshan,

Kunduz to Kabul and Heart. Though his stay in Kashmir was very short that is from 8 August 1812 to 16 December 1813. He has written all that he saw or heard of interest.

The countries visited by Mir Izzatullah and his observation, though very brief and sketchy are, nonetheless, intelligent and of infinite value to all those who may be interested in the study of the topography and socio-political conditions of the period under reference. So far as his account is concerned, it is almost next to nothing except, of course, the description relating to the Muzaffarabad Baramulla hill-region and observation on Srinagar. The book under reference makes it clear that Afghans governors too had building tastes as he affirms that the fort on the Hari Parbat hillock was built by Atta Mohammad Khan. His more valuable notice relates to the manufactures of Kashmir, the most important being shawl made from “Poost” the wool of a special goat found in Tibet and other cold countries. He states that shawl-weavers are in most poverty-stricken conditions. The book under debate also provides clear picture of these shawl weavers about their wages and rates they received. According to the author they, get only from two to four paisa’s daily as wages and their employers, on the other hand, who find them in wool and silk paying their daily wages, are very wealthy connected with the shawl trade are the wadurosh, who lend money to the manufactures, and also the mookiems, who are appraisers of shawls and receive a considerable wealth. All merchants make their purchase through these mookiemins.¹ (p4)

The work under survey offers detailed account about the patron saint of Kashmir ‘Sheikh Noor Din Norani’, and also has panned down that Atta Mohammad Khan after his declaration of independence from Kabul struck coins in the name of the said saint.

The work under observation provides ample light on the economic conditions of the people of Kashmir. According to the writer ‘the rupee of Kashmir is equivalent to 9 or 10 annas, besides the mention of crops like that of rice and other cereals is not far to seek.

The work also takes note of the taxation policy of the period under reference. The traveller writes that tax is levied by the government on every boat-load of rice and from these source ten lakhs of rupees per annum is received.² (p4)

Thus we may summarize that the account is ready reference for all those researchers who want to study history of Afghan rule in Kashmir, though author's stay in valley was very short but his views are based upon the personal observations. Whatever the author has penned down in the said work has found mention in other contemporary sources, as well. The account is extremely useful for the reconstruction of Afghan rule in Kashmir in proper historical context as author was compelled by the severities of climate and administration of Bokhara, to return alone.

Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Khalil Mirjanpuri

Mohammad Mullah Khalil Mirjanpure, resident of Nawa Kadal, Srinagar, says that he undertook the task of writing the history at the behest of his neighbor and benefactor Pandit Rajakak Dhar in the time of Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846-57). The narrative like all previous Persian chronicles starts with the desiccation of the valley and ends with Sikh rule. The author has given political condition of Kashmir from earliest times to his own. Besides from the same account we get the material on the poets of Kashmir whose writings has not only influenced the society and culture but also shaped the political history of Kashmir. Author has dealt at length with the rulers of Sultans and Chaks, his views about the Mughal annexation of Kashmir in 1586 is very interesting. According to author Kashmiris have made some agreements with the Mughal before they occupied it (Kashmir). The following extraction from the same account makes it clear.

Thus we may conclude by saying that account is full of flaws but as the author has claimed to have consult A'zam and Birbal Kachru which gives it a bit weight.

Gauhar-i-Alam by Muhammad Aslam Munami

This historical account is very valuable as its material on socio-economy that prevailed in the 18th century in Kashmir is concerned. Author of the said chronicle offers details about the welfare measures taken by the rulers of medieval Kashmir from time to time especially by Zainul Abidin and Akbar. It is the same account one comes across the ‘*Yadgar episode*’ a development that characterized a sort of revolt of the mansabdars against the Mughal rule in Kashmir, thus, the book under debate helps to identify the roots of the agrarian crises in Kashmir during the period under review. The author catches a view of the details pertaining to the conduct of the revenue assessment in Kashmir. In addition, it is extremely useful to understand the deplorable conditions of some erstwhile landed aristocratic families of Kashmir. The account under reference offers details about the economic condition of Kashmir in 18th century, in the same work author pens down the devastating effects following the raids of the people of the Muzaffarabad and Poonch, it were these raids which led to the change of political guard in Kashmir. This proved one of the major agents, for the downfall of Mughals in Kashmir and it had a role in the subsequent establishment of Afghan rule in Kashmir. As this historical account was compiled in 1785-86, it is dedicated to the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II. So far as the earlier part of the work is concerned it appears to be the abridgement of the works of Narain Koul Ajiz and Mohammad A’zam Diddamari.

However, the chronicle under debate is not without short comings as the author has claimed to have consulted the *Nur-Nama*, and the account by Hassan Qari and Muhammad Azam. But he does not bring to light any new facts and his style is cumbersome and ornate, and the occasionally make statements which are not supported by any authority.

Tawarik-i-Hassan by Ghulam Hassan Khoihami

It is the most comprehensive and coherent of all the indigenous Persian sources of Kashmir. It serves as an encyclopedia for it contains information on almost every aspect of Kashmir history. The book is divided into four volumes, all the four volumes are very

important to understand the history of Kashmir in proper context. The author fully realizes the importance of geography, its flora and fauna, archaeological remains, internal and external trade, source of irrigation, agricultural and horticultural etc, in shaping the history that is why one separate volume has been written on above mentioned theme. In the same volume author, has highlighted land revenue policy of Mughals and Afghans.

As always in history more emphasis is laid on political events the author has devoted one separate volume on political history of Kashmir from earliest times to authors own time that is upto the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh. This volume in particular other volumes in general depict the agrarian history of Kashmir during the period under review. In the early part of his book author has consulted Kalhans Rajatarangni. The book under review throws ample light on the political condition of Kashmir which enabled Ahmad Shah Abdali to annex Kashmir to his kingdom in 1753. However, the brutality of Afghan governance, taxation policy and other forces responsible for drain of wealth from Kashmir during the period under review is not for to seek. The third and fourth volumes are devoted to the life of saints, scholars and poets who lived in Kashmir during the period under review.

The book is abridgement of original sources like *Wakat-i-Kashmir*, by Mulla Mohammad, *Wakat-i-Kashmir* by Khaja Mohammad Azim Dadmari, *Brahistan-i-Shahi*, *Tarikh-i-Haider* Mulki Chandroo, *Bagh-i-Suliman*, *Musktassar Tarikh*, *Gulzari-i-Kashmir*, *tarikh-i-Nararn Koul*, *Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru*, *Tarikh-i-Rashdi* and valley of Kashmir etc.

Maulavi Hassan was a reputed Kashmiri chronicler and a deep scholar of Muslim theology. He was born in A. H. 1248 (1832), when the country formed a province of Maharaja Ranjit Singhs Kingdom of the Punjab. He was born in Gamru, a village at a distance of one mile from Bandipora (Kashmir). He was pir by birth, but his seventh ancestor was a Kashmiri Brahman, Pandit Genesh Kaul, who had accepted Islam under the name of Shaikh Ghazi-ud-Din. Though a man of letters Hassan earned his living as a

physician (Hakim) and he practiced Hikmat right till the closing years of his life besides Tarikh-i-Hassan. He has also written Gulistan-i-Ikhlaq, Kharita-i-Asrar and Aijiz-i-Gariba.

Travels Account

Another very valuable source about Kashmir during the period under review has come from Europeans, including British nationals, who travelled through the valley as private visitors or in official capacity. This literature has importance of its own. It is expressive of European attitudes towards the actual state of things-administration, social, judicial and commercial. It shows how European visitors of varying intellectual capacity and social status reacted when they came face to face with the realities of life in Kashmir.

The well-known among these visitors who have left accounts of their journey were William Moorcroft (1822-23), George Forster (1783), Victor Vincelas Jacquemont (1831) and G. T Vigne (1835). The following is an appraisal of their views on Kashmir.

William Moorcroft

William Moorcroft commenced his journey at the end of 1819. He found no difficulty to obtain Ranjit Singh's permission to travel through his kingdom. May be that his project to visit Ladakh led Ranjit Singh to launch subsequently a paralleled military project to bring under his political domination all the eastern trans-Himalayan territories including Ladakh Baltistan and Garo. Soon after the expedition was given practical shape by Dhian Singh and his brother Gulab Singh when they commissioned Zorawar Singh to conquer this region.

Proceeding to Ladakh Via Kullu Mandi and Bisahar, Moorcroft entered Kashmir in September-October, 1822, after staying in Ladakh for about two years (1820-22). In Srinagar, he married and had a son also. He left Kashmir in 1823, accompanied by Khwaja Mohammad Shah Naqashband, a Turanian merchant of affluence and a cavalcade of 300 porter and horses.

An account of Moorcroft's itinerary is available in the two volumes edited by Professor Horace Hayman Wilson. His notices relating to the life and conditions of Kashmir during the last phase of Afghan rule are very valuable. They also throw light on the system of administration, military security, judicial system, agriculture and revenue system. He also mentions the parganahs, and the relations of the Khakhas and Bombas with Afghan and Sikh rulers. But his clear views of economic and commercial aspects of shawl-wool and shawl industry are most valuable and deserve further study and research.

George Forster

George Forster reached Kabul in 1783; his account is divided into two volumes, volume I starts from Bangal and ends in England but, it is in the II volume that the conditions of Kashmir prevailing those times is discussed, so II volume is extremely useful for our study. The account throws ample light on the gardens, springs, fruits, flowers and different kinds of trees, according to the authors except Mulberry fruits no other fruits of Kashmir is found in other parts of India, however the mention of lakes, rivers' and other water bodies of Kashmir has not escaped the eye of author. Those water bodies were used for traffic purposes to carry internal trade and for internal connectivity, but authors says that the cruel nature of Afghans was also felt on these channels etc.

The book under reference makes it clear that how Kashmiri people in general and women in particular fell prey to Afghan brutality, it was due to this threat that early marriages were preferred both by Hindus and Muslims to save their daughters from Molestation. Besides this author has mentioned various professions associated with women. Overall his observations about Kashmiri women are not encouraging.

Keeping himself in close contact with the people of Kashmir author has given full description of Srinagar city, which includes housing pattern, living conditions, and food habits, certain shrines and mausoleums where people not only visit but also show great veneration towards these saintly souls, even after their death.

The account under review acquaints us with the origin and development of Kashmiri language it sheds light on the fact that this language has its roots in Sanskrit, besides this he talks about the Kashmiri taste for music, thus the account under study helps to get material on the folk perspective of Kashmir which is believed to be an important aspect of any society.

Next segment of the account deals with the tastes of the people. He says that Kashmiri people love freedom and want to enjoy each and every movement of life, even if they get only twenty rupees they arranged parties around the Dal Lake even, Afghan could not stop this feeling of people but was definitely impacted though not completely eliminated.

The account offers painful details about Afghan cruelties inflicted upon Kashmiris to get their objective fulfilled. Thus it enables us to understand the collective-psyche conditioned by harsh governing culture set in motion by alien power structure. Thus, we may conclude that George Forster's account is of immense help to understand the history of Afghan rule in Kashmir. Since, this is the only account written during the times close to our period of study. It, therefore, is of significant value. Though there are some events about which author has shown ignorance, there are also some events where exaggeration can be clearly found on his part, some events written by Forster which are based on oral evidences and when we match such events with the contemporary writers they did not find any mention. Anyway, the account is most valuable as it throws light on almost every aspect of life and society of Kashmir during the Afghan rule.

Victor Vincelas Jacquement

Born in 1801, in Paris, Jacquement was the son of a noted philosopher and writer. At a very early age he evinced a strong attachment to natural history. His unbiased good sense led him to separate the practical from the absurd. Finally, he was instructed to investigate the natural history of India, on behalf of the Royal Museum of Natural History of Paris. In pursuance of his mission he arrived in London in 1828, obtained letters of introduction for all possible assistance in India from the Royal Asiatic society.

He reached India in 1829, and Lord William Bentinck gave him numerous letters of introduction which enabled him to be received and assisted by all those who proved helpful and with whom he became acquainted. Here he studied some important languages and history of the country.

About the relations between the Afghans and Sikhs he says the Afghans are “a warlike nation which has so many times invaded India and can bring thirty thousand cavalry in the field”. Immediately, he adds, “The days of Mahmud Ghazni and Timour are past. The Afghans are very inferior to Sikhs and are, at most, just strong enough to do battle from time to time with Ranjeet Singh”. He disciplines his army in the European fashion, and almost all his officers are French.

About Kashmiri shawl-weavers in Ludhiana he says, “There is a numerous colony of Kashmirians here, who manufacture shawls similar to those of their own country, but generally of inferior quality.

Regarding the conquerors of Kashmir and their total effect on the country, he writes, “The Afghans during the last century having deprived the Mughals of that conquest, and the Sikhs having driven the Afghans from it, a general plunder followed each new conquest; and during the intervals of peace, anarchy and oppression, did their best against labour and industry. The country is now (1831) therefore, so completely ruined that the poor Kashmirians seem in despair and have become the most indolent of men...In Kashmir there is scarcely more chance for getting a supper for him, who being rendered desperate sleeps all day under the shade of a plane-tree”.

Concluding on the general administration and condition of the masses in 1831, he says, “India is no longer the poorest country in the world; to me Kashmir exceeds all imaginable poverty”.

Finally, about the enterprising habits of Kashmiri traders he says, “Kashmiri merchant, it is true go about everywhere from Kashmir to Teheran, and even to Meshed;

they go through Lahore, Delhi, Bombay, Bushir, Shiraz etc., without passing through Cabulistan for a very good reason.”

Thus, we may conclude that the said account is extremely useful to understand the socio-economic profile of Kashmir during the period under review. Though the account is not without the flaws, but perhaps it the only account which provides us details about the family relation of the time.

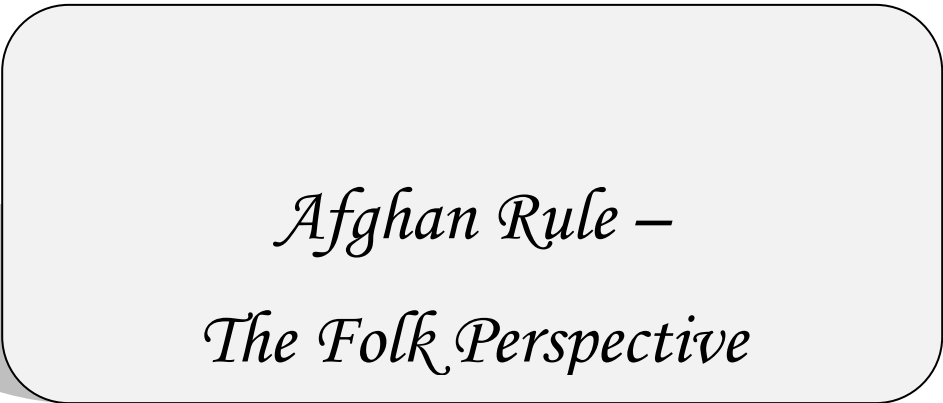
Conclusion

Among the distinguished pursuits of intellectual nature, the tradition of history writing in Kashmir stands to be one of its distinctive marvel. Acquainted well with its historical significances, the Kashmiri writers right from Kalhana of the 12th century Kashmir down to our own times, left behind a marvelous record of historical treasure in the form of texts and manuscripts. Inspired by the works of earlier chroniclers, the men with wisdom and historical sense, up held the tradition by leaving behind a good mass of manuscript material in Persian language during the times of Mughal and the Afghans. Since, Persian continued to receive official patronage and was recognized as the court language both by Mughals and Afghan. Kashmiri men of letters both Hindus and Muslims produced number of historical works on wide variety of subjects with abundant focus on documenting the political history of Kashmir. True, the contemporary Persian manuscripts and other works, left behind by Kashmiri writers in medieval Kashmir hardly qualify for the required intellectual merit as exhibited by Persian Mughal chroniclers of medieval India, but the fact remains that inspite of marked shortcomings, these works serve as a primary source for a researcher, pursuing research on Mughal and Afghan state in Kashmir. Ofcourse, the researcher has to exercise utmost caution while utilizing these works for the reconstruction of a history of a specific period but at the same time, one cannot exclusively ignore this good mass of historical literature while analyzing the political clime of Kashmir during the period under review. An attentive survey of the sources under analysis tend us to believe that these works offer penetrating insights into the diverse dimensions of Kashmir’s administrative and socio-economic

history of the period under debate. The researcher stands benefitted on wide variety of shades, ranging from agricultural produce to expenditure structure; from revenue administration to Kashmir imports; from natural calamities to mass migration; from religious elite to Afghan political culture; from social construction to religious personality. True, unmindful of basic historical requirements, the chronicles too often seem to fall victims of personal bias and attachment which culminate in the predominance of subjectivity in the narrative but at the same time, it is equally true that the works under analysis provide a true regional perspective as against Mughal historians produced by non-Kashmiri writers. Further, these works help in understanding the distinctive political behavior of alien rulers as almost all the works under debate are designed against distinctive geopolitical clime of 18th and 19th century Kashmir.

Chapter-4





Afghan Rule – The Folk Perspective

Department of History, University of Kashmir

The term evidence serves as a core subject of concern for every faithful historian. It is largely on the basis of evidence available in different forms that a historian sets to reconstruct a history of a people living in a particular geo-climatic setting. Historians have differently categorized evidence. The term historical evidence covers the entire range of source material and its review which enables a researcher to conduct close scrutiny and investigation of the given material. It has been rightly pointed out by

Bernard Bailyn that it is the inquiring mind of the historian who transforms the pieces of information into evidences by noting their relevance to the problem at hand¹.

The broader categorization of evidence in the process of historical analysis and reconstruction by historians express complete unanimity that alongside the conventional and written evidence, there rests a vast mass of primary evidence in the form of oral sources. Given the present knowledge centric process of historical inquiry the conception of what constitutes a historical source has become so diverse and broad based. Anything which throws light on the human past constitutes a source². H. B George in his comprehensive studies of historical evidence categories the evidence under two broader sub headings: -

Direct and Indirect. In the former category he includes all those sources which are conventional in nature, for instance, documents of all kinds ranging from state records to private letters. The indirect sources “comprise everything which throws incidental light on historical questions.”³ In this category one can include such sources as archaeological remains, myths and legends which possess none of the features of documentary evidence.

Renier, in his own way follows a simple division of historical evidence⁴ in two forms material and non-material. In the material category, he enlists sources like buildings, monuments, coins etc, while in the non-material category, he mentions customs, institutes, religions doctrine, traditions, legends, superstitious (Folklore) etc.

Modern critical historians have developed a compressive categorization of the historical sources written, verbal, mute and mixed. In verbal sources, on the basis of memory the following traces have been given a spacious space,⁵

- a) Spoken evidence
- b) Folk literature, songs, stories, proverbs and tales
- c) Traditional ballads
- d) Interviews
- e) Legends

f) Myths

From the above discussion, it has become amply clear that alongside the written evidence in the latest historical methodology, due weightage has been appended to non-conventional sources particularly, oral traditions for the reconstruction of a historical period of any given human society.

Oral Tradition

Till recently historians had been considering the written records as sacrosanct and callously neglected the oral traditions, because unlike the document it lacks both authorship and time of its birth. Oral tradition evolves in a community and comes down in time scale from generation to generation, of course, with changes, in content, form and spirit. Collective in nature, oral tradition gives expression to the beliefs and practices of community life and truly represents its ethos. Again being the part of the felt literature, according to Henry James, oral tradition displays living contact between the narrator and the receiver. It has immediacy, empathy and spontaneity. It is above all an impersonal document in which the people are historian as well as the participants telling their own story in their own words. It is gathered from the ground spoken by unknown contributors and is of the nature of community memory.⁶

The itemized list of the oral tradition is rather large as it includes myths, legends, folk tale, folk songs, proverbs, riddles, chants, allusions jokes, charms, curses, abuses, taunts, superstitious, customs, attitudes, medicines and slangs. In Kashmir context, where the state has always been ruthless and the apparatus of coercion and power was often used to muzzle even the genuine public grievances, people look to non-traceable sources to express their view points about the poor governance and other follies of the state craft.⁷ Further, when illiteracy and ignorance were the marked traits of Kashmir personality, oral traditions served as a carrier of public opinion, wisdom and history. The oral tradition explains the social structure, inter-relationships and the extant of conservatism or dynamism of a given society. It also reflects the beliefs of the people, their practices, attitudes, customs, ceremonies, their aspirational values and goals.⁸ It also

provides a peep into the deep recesses of peoples psyche, motivations and psychological responses to a particular social phenomenon.

Cultural anthropologists and ethnologists tend to describe complete cultural performance, particularly, the major rites and ceremonies of life cycle; and folklorists and linguist generally concentrate on textual and thematic analysis of the oral tradition.⁹ As against this, the historian by late, started to use oral traditions as a non-conventional source for understanding the variegated shades of complex human behavior, mental makeup, collective psycho social traits and the religious personality of the people living within a particular socio-linguistic area.¹⁰

The source become abundantly fruitful in the human societies, where the tradition of history writing has been the chief concern of elite sections of the society. In case of Kashmir, though the tradition of historical scholarship dates back to 12th century, when Kalhan chronicled the history of Kashmir known as 'Rajtaragni' but inspite of this commendable effort, the theme and focus of Kashmir historical tradition until now has predominantly been those sections which enjoyed, power, authority and status. The history of common people almost remained undocumented. The people's response however gets articulated through various genres of oral tradition especially folk literature, found in legends, tales, folk songs, riddles, folk plays. Apart from the conventional historical sources the non-conventional source of history provide penetrating insights into the character of the society and provide reliable clues about those aspects of societal personality and collective psyche and ethos, which is difficult to be traced out in other traditional sources of history.

Right from Mughal annexation of Kashmir in 1586 to the end of an autocratic power structure in 1947, almost all non-Kashmiri governing elite attempted to seek public legitimacy not through an apparatus of goodwill, love and affection but as against this, they applied more harshly the apparatus of power, authority and coercion to seek peoples' legitimacy for the survival and accomplishment of their political objectives.¹¹ Though, Mughals attempted to win the hearts of Kashmiri through number of public

reform measures but still they could not stem out the seeds of alienation culminated as a result of unending conflict between the region and the Mughal realm.

With the establishment of Afghan rule in Kashmir in 1753 A.D, the roots of alienation got further strengthened as the Afghans too, applied the tool of authority and coercion with redoubled scale to muzzle the public sentiment and seek legitimacy for their survival. The conflict between Afghan authority and regional forces assumed diabolic dimension, when ever Afghan subedhars finding the central authority weak, revolted against them to declare themselves as sovereign rulers. This precipitated the matter from bad to worse, resulting in an unending clime of mistrust, disbelief, insecurity, anarchy and interstrifes. The worst hit causality amid such chaotic situation was none else than the common man or majority peasant and urban artisans.

The contemporary chroniclers no doubt, documented to some extent, the anti-people behavior of Afghan officialdom but to be on safer side, they attributed almost every ugly occurrence to Metaphysical forces. As against this, the true picture of Kashmiri society gets reflected in vernacular literature, particularly in folk literature of Kashmir. For objective study of peoples response the folk perspective towards Afghan governing culture may better be gathered from oral traditions. Since folk composition stands free of individual ownership, as such, the composers of folk literature regardless of falling prey to official brutality documented the pain of public and licentious behavior of Afghan nobility and officialdom in an unvarnished expression. Infact, this to great extent may be dubbed as a true reflection of people's perspective which would have remained, otherwise, unnoticed or undocumented in the conventional literary historical sources.¹²

The entire period of Afghan rule (1753-1819) in Kashmir can be characterized as an unending conflict between Afghan state and regional forces, declaration of sovereign status even by Afghan governors against their own masters, intermittent attempts of loot and arson by local chieftains, particularly, by Bombas, Khakhas¹³ and Gujjars of Poonch, periodical sectarian clashes, mostly between Shais and Sunnis, recurring causation of

natural calamities like floods, famines, earthquakes etc. and the pathetic tale of misgovernance and acute exploitation of Afghan officialdom.

Hardly any literary folk genre, may it be, folk plays (*Bhand Pathir*), folk sayings, proverbs, allusions, folk songs and folk stories, where one do not come across ugly reflections of Afghan governance in Kashmir.¹⁴ For example, in Kashmir folk plays “*Bhand Pathers*”-the traditional theater of Kashmir, a reader stands acquainted with too full length plays entitled “*Raza Patheer*”¹⁵ and “*Darze Pather*”¹⁶ wherein the abundant focus is laid on the scandalous, luxurious and sensuous tastes of Afghan aristocracy. The two beautiful lady attendants known as “*Derzas*” symbolize the involvement and lust of Afghan governing elite in the sensuous pursuits. The lack of administrative acumen and the absence of public welfare concern is shown in the folk dramas by various theatrical skills and scenes.

Since corruption was rampant during Afghan governance in Kashmir, the Afghan governors deputed to Kashmir and their subedhars and naib-subedhars always busied themselves in fleecing poor peasantry in the name of “*Rasum*” and other allied revenue taxes.¹⁷ The heavy exactions forced peasantry either to migrate to Indian plains or desert the land. This state of affairs is depicted in “*Raza Pather*” (folk drama) through one of the characters known as “*Sagwan*.” In one of the scenes of the “*Pather, Sagwan*”¹⁸-an official, demands honey from a potter (*Kral*). The *Kral* (Potter) instead of bringing honey carries a pot full of mud and offers it to ‘*Sagwan*’ as bribe. It not only refers to immense hatred of menial village professions against corrupt officials but it is also suggestive of a collective protest against the established system based exclusively on corrupt practice. These corrupt officials used to live in spacious houses and spent their nights in “colourful parties” an extract from “*Raza Pather*” is given here as under:-

Sagwan: (*while slapping at Kral/Potter*)

Have your brought honey?

Potter: (*bending his head a bit down*)

Here, it is sir, it is in this basket.

Sagwan: Have you brought fowl?

Potter: I have got honey as well as fowl (unloading the basket, potter takes out a mouthful of mud and starts eating it).

Sagwan: Where is honey?

Potter: (referring to mud) This is honey would you like to taste it?

Here it is (pointing to mud)¹⁹

The undercurrent disdain against the corrupt system which was in receipt of Afghan official approval stands exposed as nude before the spectators. Through two main character 'Navid' (Barber) and 'Kraal' (potter) in the "*Raza Pather*" take stock of various categories of corrupt state officials and make them subjects of tremendous public ridicule. The "*Pather*" also highlights the moral laxity prevalent under Afghan feudal structure in Kashmir society. The play, unmasks the scandalous life style of political elite and landed aristocracy. The "plough scene" in the "*Pather*" attains the highest tone of political protest and social disapproval to the barricades created by government officials which sought to deter the suffering peasants to address their genuine grievances to the Afghan governor.²⁰ The symbolic exhibition of 'Plough' (*albani*) with the petition tagged at the top, and holding, the plough high with a petition paper, stands for the silent protest of the peasantry against the highhandedness of revenue officials.

Though we do not come across such an organized protest by peasantry even against worst type of exploitation at the hands of Afghan *Ijaradars* and *Jagirdars* in the historical contemporary texts but the chronicles abound in details about the illegal exactions which often crippled the very existence of poor peasantry,²¹ in *Bagh-i-Sulaiman*, *Sadullah Shahadi* states as under:-

"The Ijardari system assumed alarming proportions under the Afghan. Infact, the first Afghan governor, Abdullah Khan Ishaq, received whole Kashmir in Ijhara against a huge amount of twenty four lakh rupees which was to be realized on account of the land

revenue and other taxes. *Ijardari* system envisaged ruin of the peasantry and led to declining trend in population. The *mustajir* under the existing terms of the contract was usually required to deliver a fixed sum of revenue within a stipulated²² period of time, no matter how he realized.”

Yet another Kashmiri traditional folk drama “*Derza Pather*” symbolically stands for rapacious Afghan governing culture. “*Dard Raja*,” who represents the kind of Afghan governing elite is always shown in the company of beautiful Kashmiri courtesans known in vernacular as ‘*Derzas*.’ The Afghan governors presence in the company of two beautiful ‘*Derzas*’ and their sensual gestures and the love making actions of the *Raja* with these two ‘*Derzas*’ are suggestive of scandalous and sensuous behavior pattern of Afghan ruling aristocracy. The repeated intervention of the ‘*Maskaras*’²³ (*Jesters*) is a conscious attempt to make the ‘*Raja*’ feel that public, though having no accessibility to the corridors of power, are in know of the luxurious and scandalous life style of the Afghan aristocratic circles. One of the most striking scenes of ‘*Derza Pather*’ is when *Maskhara* (*Jesters*) asks ‘*Raja*’ that we can acknowledge you as our true ‘*Raja*,’ if you grant back the power of expression to otherwise dumb driven Kashmiri. This indicates as how sensitive were Kashmiri people about their political and cultural identity. The language used in the play “*Derze Pather*” is pure Persian, the official language of Afghans in Kashmir. In tune with Mughal fashion, Afghans also used Persian as an official language against the language of the land-Kashmiri. The imposition of alien language further distanced Kashmiri from Afghan²⁴ and the sense of language causality at the hands of foreign rulers was so deep and painful in Kashmir collective psyche that they compiled abusive expressions against Afghans in vernacular.

The disdain that Kashmiris developed against Afghans for Kashmiri language’s sad plight is evidenced from a dramatic scene of “*Darze Pather*.”

Dard: Do you want to express in Punjabi?

Maskhara: Yes of course, I can speak Punjabi, Arabic, Hindi, Ladakhi, but not Persian.

Raja: Rohilla – Where have you come from?

Rohilla: I have come from Kabul

Raja: Well done, Do you know Punjabi?

Rohilla: I know Persian language Punjabi language, Pashtu language, but I don't know Kashmiri language.²⁵

In the entire plot of the play, the Afghan barbarity is so vividly depicted that offers ample chance for audience to demonstrate their reaction and response. The play stands a model for sorrowful poetic expression.

²⁶
پرسیدم از خرابی گلشن زباغان
افغان کشید و گفت که افغان خراب کرد

(I enquired of the gardener the cause of the destruction of garden, drawing a deep sigh he replied, it is the Afghan who did it).

The folk narrative is substantiated by historical texts as well. P. N. K Bamai sums up the bungling of nobility as under:-

“Rude was the shock that Kashmiris got when they witnessed the first acts of barbarity at the hands of their new master...Abdullah Khan Isqk Aqasi, let loose a reign of terror as soon as he entered the valley. Accustomed to looting, murdering the subjected people, his soldiers set themselves to amassing riches by the foulest means possible. The well to do merchants and noblemen of all communities were assembled together in the palace and ordered to surrender all their wealth on pain of death. Those who had its audacity to complain or resist were quickly dispatched with the sword and in many cases their families suffered the same fate”.²⁷

With the inclusion of Kashmir in Mughal realm, the governors deputed by Mughal court in order to appease their imperial masters at Agra, designed the valleys tax structure in such a way, which aimed to cripple the very existence of poor Kashmiris, particularly, rural peasantry.²⁸ Their immediate successor in Kashmir-the Afghans continued the harsh revenue mechanism, but further widened its net to cover other shades of Kashmiri social organizations. How this intolerable loads of heavy exactions brought havoc to Kashmir agriculture sector has equally been documented by contemporary historical texts and the folk lore as well. The author of *Gulshai-i-Dastur*, provides the information of taxes and cesses levied from agricultural class revenue functionaries.

“As under the Afghan, each village yielding minimum revenue of a ‘Kharwar of paddy, paid besides normal taxes, one trak annually towards the revenue functionaries. Similarly, on every one rupee of ‘mehsul,’ each village was required to pay two annas annually to the *Kardar*”.²⁹

Yet another contemporary historian Birbal Kachru states on the same subject as under. “*Likewise, every such village which yielded revenue of four hundred Kharwars of paddy, was burdened with a cess payable to the revenue functionaries at the rate of sixty two dams equivalent to the cost of two goats*”. During the successive Afghan governors and subedhars, volumes of the said cesses increased further, Azim Khan and Karim Khan who assumed the reigns of government under Afghans in Kashmir in quick succession exorbitantly charged Rupees ten to twenty plus five to ten sheep, two to four tracks of oil, four tracks of salt and five to ten kharwas of rice annually from the peasants of each village.³⁰

Following the footsteps of Afghan governing elite, the local Zamindars equally claimed a number of petty perquisites. They levied poll tax called ‘*dastar-shumeri*,’ (turban tax) besides ‘*damdari*’ tax (tax on bird catchers) *Sar-i-darakh* (tax on orchards), *zar-i-duddi* (smoke or hearth tax) *telli-chirag* (fuel tax) etc. Peshkar, as the chief officer incharge of revenue collection at the Pargana level, did not lag behind in claiming presents and gifts from the villagers on the occasion of the receipt of seeds from the

government. The peasantry also paid *Zar-i-Niyaz* (presentation tax) to higher-up-officials through the village Muquddam.

In addition to the peasantry, several other sections of the society were brought in the text net to drain even the meager income of different categories. *Baj* and *Nazrana*, were levied with great vigor. Besides, *Zar-i-Nikah* (marriage tax) several other taxes like, *Zar-i-Hasrat* (tax on shops), *Zar-i-Bayutat* (tax on houses) etc. During Amir Khan and Karimdad Khan, the exactions reached to its height. Such was deep imprint on the folk psyche of these exactions that Kashmiri coined an abusive folk expression like ‘*Chetly Kareem*’³² for Kareemdad Khan and a folk allusion Azad Khanun *dabdaba*³³ which still stands in circulation in Kashmir vernacular.

The metaphoric expression in vernacular stands for unjustified and unprecedented state exactions. The folk expression stands attested by the contemporary historical narrative as well.

*“Haji Karimdad Khan was rather heartless and killed alike Hindus and Muslims on provocation. His exactions through Aslam Harkaram, his unscrupulous tax collection, exceeded even those of the notorious Itiqad Khan, the Mughal subehdhar and compelled many to leave the country. Certain Pandits who were concerned in a conspiracy with the Bombas against Karimdad were exposed to suffocation by smoke. For librating them, Karimdad realized a large indemnity called Zar-i-dad. He also levied an anna per rupee on the price of shawls from the weavers”.*³⁴

The reigns of Afghan governance in Kashmir passed on to Azad Khan, after the death of his father Karimdad Khan. For his ferociousness, bad temper and arrogance there came into circulation in folk medium, an expression known as “Azad Khanun Dabdabe”. Like many of his predecessors he also declare his independence but was forced to pay three lakhs of rupees by Timur Shah, the Afghan king, as a tribute which of course, Azad extorted from his wretched subjects. In an oral tradition, there runs a story of his arrogance and ferociousness as under³⁵.

It is said that once when his wife was about to deliver a baby, Azad Khan is quoted to have said to her wife, if she gives birth to a male baby, you would be put in high esteem in the royal household and if a female baby is born to you, both you and your baby shall be assassinated. The folk tradition says that her wife gave birth to a female baby and hearing the news, Azad Khan is said to have sliced into pieces her wife and her new born baby. The folk belief further adds that the news received wider publicity in civil circles that frustrated arrogant Azad Khan. After enquiry, when the Afghan governor came to know that the news had been transmitted by one royal household servant to general public at Zaina Kadal gossip centre, the man was butchered and all the structures standing on both the sides of Zaina Kadal bridge over river Jehlum were reduced to rubbles at the orders of Azad Khan³⁶.

Azim Khan had been hateful for his acts of cruelty from the very start of his career. After defeating Sikh troops, he became more arrogant and ruthless. He let loose reign of terror, confiscated jagirs of some Hindu zamindars, many Muslims also suffered with the Pandits. Azeem Khan also discharged all the Kashmiri soldiers from the army because he distrusted their loyalty³⁷.

Sensing the end of Afghan rule in Kashmir, Azam Khan employed all tactics to exact as much as he could from different sections of Kashmiri society, which among others include, zamindars, jagirdars, peshkars, sahibkars, peasantry, artisans, prostitutes and other professionals there hardly remained any category of professionals and skilled workers who remained untouched from his stubborn and cruelty. This is evidenced from the fact that when he was about to leave Kashmir for Kabul, he handed over one Crore Rupees to Sahaz Ram Dhar to carry it to Kabul. This huge amount was realized in quick hurry implying all legal and illegal ways. It is for this catching hold of every productive object in the shape of kind and cash, the multitude of Kashmiri folk coined as folk expression which runs as Azeem Khanun Chetty³⁸.

In yet another Kashmiri folk genre known as “Pretch” (riddle) Kashmiri have documented the metaphoric reflection of Afghan collective personality by reproducing

multiple episodes occurred during the Afghan rule in Kashmir. In folk culture, nick names, abuses, rumors and slogans are of great significance as these oral sources offer penetrating insights into the character of officialdom, response of the general public and the collective behavior pattern and mindset of the particular society.

In the following Kashmiri riddles the reflection of people's response towards Afghan governing culture stands reflected in a true colour:

39
برونہ برونہ عیشہ مال لَشہ کون ہیتھ
پتہ پتہ جمعہ خان ڈمہ ڈمہ ہیتھ

The crux of this riddle refers lighting and thunder by the Juma Khan, the folk expression refers to Juma Khan Alkozi the afghan governor of Kashmir who ruled over Kashmir for four years the absurd expression of lighting and thunder in the riddle indirectly refers to arrogance and ruthlessness of Juma Khan.

The Afghan feminine beauty has assumed a predominant thematic shade in Kashmir folk poetry. In different “wanum” and “Roaf” songs (festival and marriage songs) of Kashmiri language, the expression “Pathani” stands for unmatched feminine beauty and charm. The beautiful Kashmir bride is often compared with bewitching Afghani feminine looks.

40
کاندر وانچ باکر خانی - ولیہ پٹھانی مس ہیہ مثریہ
41
آہ تراویہ آگروانی - بوز پٹھانی آبک شور
42
وازن وراچہ مندریادوس - خبر ہیہ گیہ قوئل قندھارس

(You are just like a *Bakir Khani* (delicate bread in layers) at Kashmir bakershops, come on *Pathani*, your hair is styled so delicately).

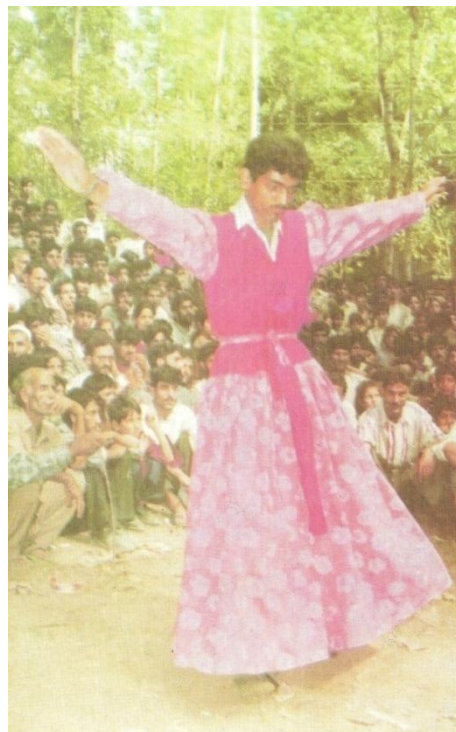
(You will be bathed from pure spring water, do you listen the roaring sound of water – *Pathani*).



In Darza Pather, Magun and Darzas are seen in dancing mood



Folk dancers busy in “*Dambli Dance*”, the traditional dance.



**A glimpse of “*Bhand Tchok*” before the display of *Darze Pather*.
It is a form of Kashmiri folk dance**

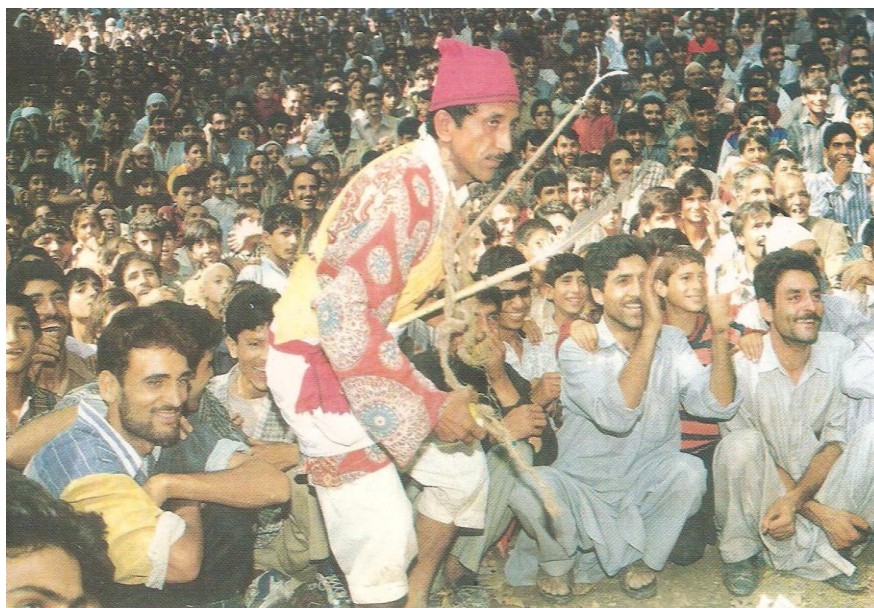


A scene from angrez pather





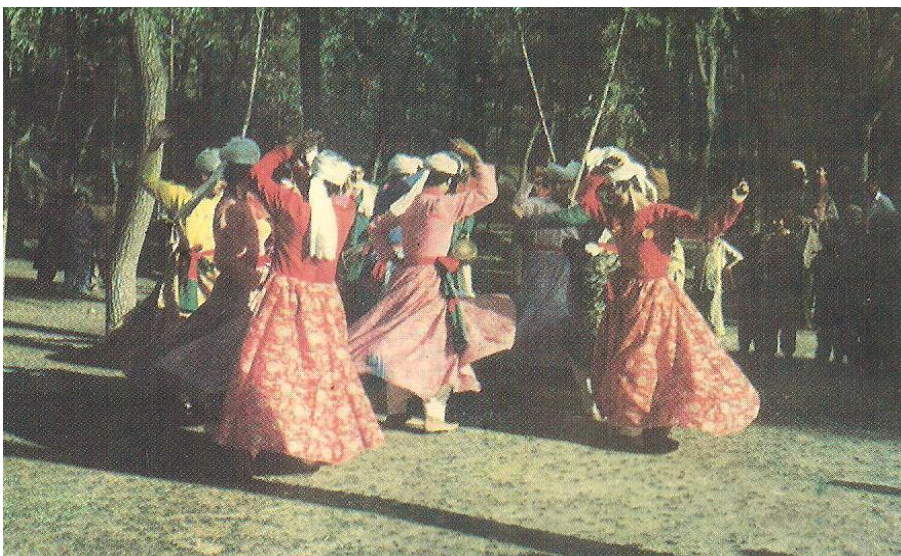
Different tools used in agriculture for cultivation



Maskar (Jester) in one of the scenes of bhand pathir



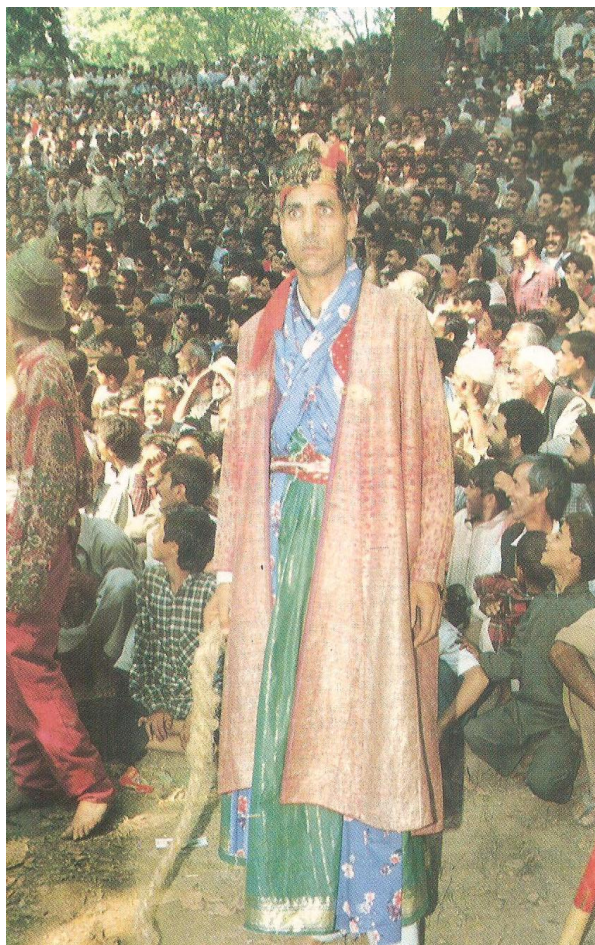
Magun, Darzi and Maskar (Jester)



Maskaras busy in dance before the play



Darzi Pathir in progress



Magun



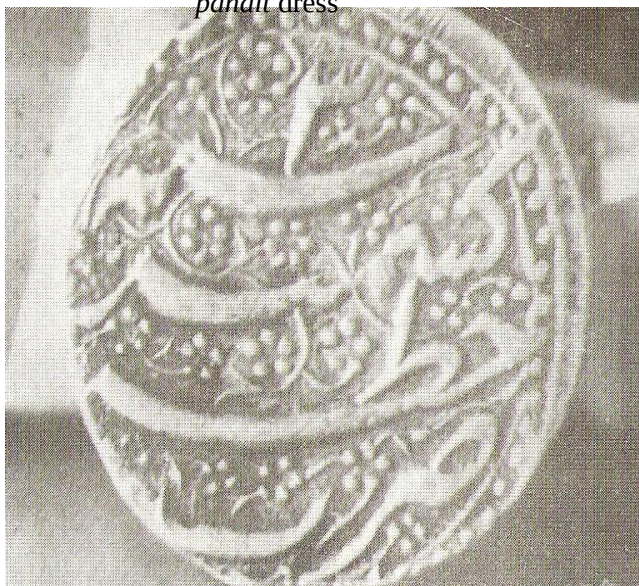
A procession carrying bridegroom in a folk drama (*wattal pather*)

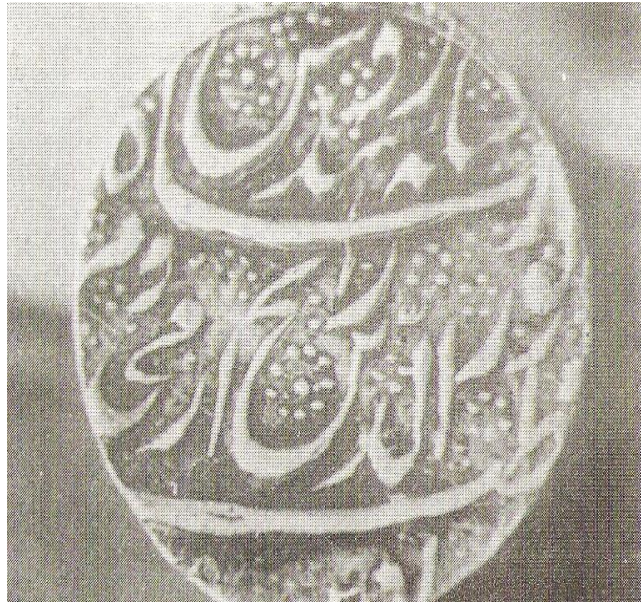


A scene from Kashmiri folk play '*Bata Pather*'



An elder Kashmiri *pandit* woman wearing traditional *pandit* dress





Within dotted border and flowery background, the coin issued by the Afghan governor Atta Muhammad Khan in honor of Sheikh Noor-ud-Din Reshi, the translation of the couplet inscribed on the coin is:
The coin became bright through Noor-ud-Din
It became current through the revered chief of the pious

Conclusion

Very late historians have acknowledged the importance of oral tradition as a primary source for the reconstruction of history of common people. Since, the elements

of folklore are social products, it can therefore, act as a mirror of collective social milieu of an age and the period. As against written evidence which has come down to us in the form of diverse literary shades, the Kashmir oral traditions abound in references about various political regimes, administrative personalities, various rungs of official machinery and the machinations of exploiting agents which among other categories, include religious as well as feudal elite.

Since the makers of historical literary texts generally belonged to well off Kashmiri families who remained closed to the corridors of power, their works, as such, advertently or inadvertently reflected at times, the elitian mind set, and as against this the information recorded in oral traditions generally echo the pain and the aspirations of multitude of common masses. At the present stage of history writing, when the ambit of historical analysis has considerably widened, there entered new themes in the corpus of historical investigation. The structured focus is laid now to understand the psycho-social make up of common men and to understand peoples response and perspective, as against conventional sources, non conventional sources have proved of immense help and value for historians.

The magnitude of pain, which the commoners experienced, particularly rural peasantry in a feudal power structure is best reflected through various categories of Kashmiri folklore. The quantum of collective suffering produced as a result of harsh exactions, misgovernance and official brutality stand articulated in various performing folk arts like "*Bhand Pathers*." As already said, the elements of folklore are social products, they are created, retained and transmitted by the folk and as such, it serves as the mirror of the people- not dead like a piece of glass, but a living one.

From a stand point of new history, the fundamental assumption of the total history is that the past must be conceived of in terms of structures and systems...within whose boundaries human individual and collective behaviour is confined. History must be understood as the composite result of a bundle of systems or structures, each of which has its own internal coherence that the historian must seek out and demonstrate. Taking a cue

from this statement, it may not be unhistoric to assume that if Kashmiri oral tradition possesses enough information on wide range of peoples history but the researcher is required to exhibit utmost degree of caution and it is not just to draw the results merely at the face value, what a researcher is required that he must use this source of history in conjunction with established historical evidence available in different literary forms.

Notes and References

1. Bernade, Bailyn, *The Problem of Working Historian*, p. 92.
2. H.B. George, *Historical Evidence Confound*, p. 12.

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, op. cit., Ch. II, R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, p. 28.
5. Leon J. Goldstein, *Historical Knowing*, p. 83.
6. Arthur, Marwick, *The Nature of History*, p. 131.
7. Leon, op. cit., p. 19.
8. Hangloo, R. L., *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, p.115.
9. G.A. Lundberg, *Social Research*, p. 82.
10. S.L. Srivastava, *Folk Culture and Oral Tradition*, p. 202.
11. F. Fayaz, “*Mughal Aesthetics and Cultural Documents*” published in The Journal of Kashmir Studies, University of Kashmir, Vol. 6, No. 1. p. 64.
12. F. Fayaz, “*Social Discontent and Protest Contours*” published in ‘*Sheeraza*’ English, J&K Cultural Academy, Vol. 40, No. 3-4. P. 74.
13. *Khokh*, which means a constant source of threat in vernacular, refers to recurring excursions of loot, plunder and destruction. Whenever, a seat of governance was occupied by ‘weak, inefficient and docile Governor, Subedhar or Naib-Subedhar, at the administrative headquarter in Srinagar, these ferocious people, living in the neighbouring areas of Uri and Muzaffarabad, would come with all destructive forces to create unruly conditions. Such is the deep imprint of the *Khokhas* on the folk psyche that Kashmiri mothers even today make their naughty young ones sleep, frighten them by saying that *Khokh* have come.
14. M.L. Kemmu, *Bhand Natiyam*, p. 108.
15. This is one of the traditional folk plays of Kashmir. The traditional folk Kashmiri folk theatre is known in vernacular as *bhand pather*. ‘*Raza pather*’ highlights the general weaknesses of alien power structure with focused emphasis on the behavior pattern of the Afghan ruling aristocracy. For details see, *History and Folklore*, by Dr. Farooq Fayaz, p. 189.
16. In the folk play *darzi pather*, an artistic attempt has been made to expose the laxity of Afghan governing elite. The play further reveals the inbuilt shortcomings of Afghan governing culture.

17. Bazaz Prem Nath, *Freedom Struggle in Kashmir*, 9. 89.
18. Bhagat, M.S., *bhand pather*, p. 119, for details see, *Kashmir Luk Pather* by M.S. Bhagat.
19. The dramatic scene artistically reflects the pathetic tale of ruler professionals like blacksmith, potter and carpenters. How these marginalized sections were fleeced by various rungs of Afghan officials in the name of rasum and other harsh taxes. The same depicts the harsh and discourteous attitude of officials towards the rural poor during the period under review. For details see, *Zaban, Adab Te Tawarikh* by Dr. Farooq Fayaz.
20. In a clime of complete disconnect between Afghan ruling cadre and the poor peasantry, officials resorted to different means highhandedness. In this folk drama, the petitioners are shown as enclosing piece of petition with the pillow with in objective that it might draw the attention of Afghan royalty and as such the grievances of poor peasantry are redressed with.
21. During the lengthy period of political despair and gloom which was the result of an unfriendly, harsh, corrupt and oppressive apparatus of governance approved by the Afghans, Kashmiri developed a distinctive psyche, which preferred silence to protest, migration to resistance, fighting to surrender, and self respect to self denial under such circumstances Kashmiri could hardly be expected to have mustered a courage to protest against Afghan oppression. This is the reason that instead appealing instances of ruler oppression, we hardly come across any reference of peasant revolt, as was case in other states of Hindustan. For details see M.A. Wani's article "*Tul Palav Te Voth Chalav*" published in Kashmir studies Journal, University of Kashmir.
22. Shahabdi Saad'ulah, *Bagh-i-Sulaiman*, Research and Publication Department, ff 188a-92b, also see *Gulshan-i-Dastoor*, ff. 303ab.
23. The *Maskhara* (Jester) is an important character in Kashmiri *bhand pather*. He is just like a '*Sutardhar*' of Hindustani folk theatre. Before the enactment of dramatic scenes, the *mascara* prepares the necessary theatrical clime and acquaints

the spectators about the plot of the play. For details see M.S. Baghat's *bhand pather*, M.L. Kemmu's *bhand natiyam*, and other related published literature.

24. During the Afghan rule, Persian continued to be an official language. The official patronage of the said language opened new vistas of promotion in terms of literary pursuits and Persian language promotion. As against this, Kashmiri language was thrown in the back ground and it was literally kept alive by marginalized folk by way of spoken language. The Sufi-Kashmiri poets also used Kashmiri language as a medium for their poetic expressions. Kashmiris, who had an intense love for their mother tongue, were suffering an intense pain to see their language being treated with disdain by Afghan officialdom. The language disconnect was one of the reasons, that could be advanced as a reliable cause of Kashmir alienation.

25. Ibid.

26. Quoted by Sofi G.M.D. *Kasheer*, p. 338.

27. Bamzi P.N.K. *Political and Cultural History of Kashmir*.

28. Kaw. M.A. *The Agrarian System of Kashmir*. 1586-1819, p. 180-185.

29. Pandit Nath, *Gulshan-i-Dastoor*, ff. 288a-98b.

30. Dhar Ramjoo, *Keefat-ul- Intizam-i-Mulk-i-Kashmir*, ff 3a-5b.

31. Nath, op. cit. ff 300-305.

32. Atish G.N. *The Relfection of Afghan Governance in Kashmiri Folk Verse*, unpublished article.

33. Ibid.

34. Sofi, op. cit. p. 316.

35. Mirjanpuri Khalil, *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, ff 309-310, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, ff 322.

36. Ibid.

37. Sofi, op. cit. p315-318.

38. Azim Khan, the Afghan Governor (1813-19) imposed heavy taxation on Kashmiri peasantry, for his undue exactions, there is a folk saying in circulation "*Azim Khanun chety*".

39. *Kashmiri Folk Song* Vol. II, No. 3, Cultural Academy, p. 101.

40. Quoted by G.N. Atish in his unpublished article *Afghan Governance as Reflected in Kashmiri Folk, Verse*.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

Chapter-5



*Socio-Cultural Impact of
Afghan Rule*

Department of History, University of Kashmir

In loose and broad terms socio-cultural dynamics refer to the changes in the social and cultural attributes of a society. Though social and cultural attributes are seen as an integral whole and hence inseparable, yet, social here refers to the structural aspects such as patterned interactions. By cultural attributes we refer to the collectively shared, values, ideas and symbols which are associated with human groups. Thus, socio-cultural dynamics is a universal and timeless process. Since no society can be static, all societies at all times pass through this process of change. Socio-cultural dynamics is a highly complex phenomenon. If the forces of change emanate within the social structure, it may be termed as endogenous. The rise of socio-religious ideologies such as Buddhism and Jainism may be example of endogenous change while the changes occurring through the advent of Islam or Christianity that come from outside may be put under the category of exogenous changes. Changes within Kashmir society occurred through both of these processes.¹ The spread of Islam in Kashmir from the latter half of the fourteenth century onwards brought about a great transformation in the life of the people. The cultural contacts that were established with Persia and Turkistan and the influx of a large number of Muslims from those countries also affected profound social changes. But despite this foreign impact, which was far-reaching, links with the past were not broken, for the Kashmiris refused to give up their beliefs and practices completely. That is why throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries there was a constant conflict between those who were eager to introduce the Perso-Islamic way of life. In the end, however, the conflict was resolved by the fusion of the old and the new. This resulted in the emergence of a society in which the old ideas and institution were mixed up with the new. In this chapter, an attempt shall be made to draw an illustration of Kashmir society under the Afghans which did not change much because most of the practices of Mughals were carried by Afghans focus shall also be laid on some institution supposed to have been originated during the period under review.

Society

While studying the social, cultural structure prevailing in medieval Kashmir, one is confronted with the paucity of material on the subject, there is however, better and more detailed data available on the Mughal period, but the conditions prevailing under Afghan are shrouded in darkness. There is scanty material available on the brief period of their rule. Society in Kashmir during the Hindu times was divided into four casts. But these divisions were not as rigid as in India. However, Brahmans had occupied a privileged position; those who were in charge of temples were exempted from *covree*². With the spread of Islam, the division in Kashmir society based on caste disappeared for the most part; they were replaced by class distinction which in certain cases retained the old rigidity. Islam, no doubt, provided a unifying and leveling force, and the Sufi's tried to bridge the gulf between the different classes, but, owing to the economic disparities and functional differences, real social equality could not be achieved.³

Number of People

It is not possible to give exact figures of the numbers people inhabiting the valley during the period under review, as there is hardly any reference to a census having been taken at any time. Though we are told by some of the chronicles that valley was thickly populated and judging from the number of deserted villages existing till recent times. The *Zafer-Nama* for instance, mentions that that land was thickly populated and so does Abul Fazil of the country's numerous populations.⁴

In the Mughal period, however, it appears that a rough census of the valley was conducted by Saif Khan in or about 1670 A.D. According to it there were 1,243,033 souls in Kashmir including 90,400 infantry and 41812 cavalry.⁵ Excepting this there is practically no record of the population of the country.

The population figures of the valley seem to have undergone a radical change with the advent of Afghan rule. Political uncertainty coupled with natural calamities like famines and floods resulted in whole sale emigration and death. Though there are no records to show the exact number of people who continued to inhabit the valley during troublous times, we get a glimpse of it from the dairies of some European travelers who visited the valley immediately after the end of the Afghan rule.⁶ Moorcroft records that where as the population of the Srinagar city, although much diminished, was very numerous, yet at the same time the villages and small towns were deserted, people having either migrated the capital where there was greater safety or to the plains of India.

Social composition under Afghans

Kashmir society under Afghan can broadly be categorized under the following major groups;

1. Afghan Ruling Elite
2. Officials of Afghan Government
3. Landed Elite
4. Religious Elite
5. Peasantry
6. Village Professionals
7. Urban Artisans

1. Afghan Ruling Elite:-

Afghan governors, Subedhars and Naib Subedhars, who were deputed by Kabul government to discharge the functions as head of the state. The Afghan ruling elite generally belonged to well off Afghan families and they generally maintained distance from locals. The royal Afghan lady folk maintained strict seclusion from the society and would generally remain confined to the four walls of officials

residences. There is no evidence available in the contemporary historical works that suggested any royal lady even accompanied his husband at public places.

2. Official Class

The most influential class after Afghan royalty was the official class. These included; Subedhars, Sahib Kars, Peshkars, Diwans and a lower cadre like Qaningo, Chowdhari, Mugdam, Amil, Amin, Kardar, Tehvildar etc. These officials discharged their administrative assignments at different territorial levels ranging from Subha to village.

3. Landed Elite

Zamindars, Jagirdars, Ijardars constituted the landed elite during the period in question. This was a class of most affluent persons who held some superior on the land in a particular locality and they mostly functioned as the intermediaries between the basic producers and the state.⁷ This class generally happened to be the chiefs of the most important land owning families like, Chaks, Dars, Magreys, Rainas, Bhats etc. in lieu of their services, this category of influential people claimed a direct share from the produce of the peasants.⁸ Thus by virtue of the responsibility vested, in them and right to claim compensation thereupon, Zamindars, Ijardars and Jagirdars commanded a privileged position in the locality. This affluent landed class acted as bridge between the state and the peasantry.

4. Religious Class

Qazis, Mufties, Shaikhs, Sayyids, Sufis and learned Ulemas comprised the most influential religious class among the Muslims. They were held in high esteem by the Afghan governing cadre. The families belonging to these religious classes were often given Jagirs in distant villages. Proud of their rich pedigree and social status, these Muslim families never entered into the matrimonial alliances with the Muslim families of common origin. This category of religious elite always attempted to maintain distance from commoners.

5. Peasantry

Since land constituted the major source of government revenue and Kashmir society continued to be an agricultural society as 90% of people subsisted on land. Dars, Bhats, Loans, Kumars, Ganais, Tantray, Subcasts fully engaged as major peasantry class during the period in question. In spite of their hard labour, the peasantry was left with little produce to suffice their meager needs. The entire burden of official taxation fell generally on peasantry. Besides tax on land, this class was to pay additional rasums in kind and had to bear the expenses of officials associated with the land. During the failure of crops, their position immensely became horrible. During the period under review, Kashmir experienced number of floods and famines, which crippled the very existence of Kashmir peasantry. To fulfill their basic requirements, this class often went to Indian plains particularly Punjab during winter days to earn their livelihood. Besides, it was this class which was engaged in “*Begar*” and thus their position was no better than cattle.

6. Village Professionals

This class of skilled landless labourers was entirely dependent on peasantry. This class of village professionals performed number of jobs for peasant class against meagre compensation in kind. This class of village professionals generally comprised of –

Black Smith, Weaver, Barber, Potters, Carpenters, Shepherds, Gilkars etc

7. Urban Artisans

Under Afghan, Kashmiri shawl industry assumed unmatched demand in European and central Asian markets. The handicraft industry which was generally confined to urban Srinagar, as such a good majority of city population engaged themselves in different trades related to handicrafts. There were alone seventy two thousand shawl weavers plus a host of skilled men, viz, *Hakak, Sahaf, Siraj, Najar, Gilkar, Bakkal, Sangtarash, Kundangar, Roshangar, Rafgar, Qalbaf* etc. During the Afghan rule, it is said, that some families of Kashmiri *Shawlbaufs* left Kashmir and settled in different parts of Northern India.

Position of Woman

Women constitute the soul of any human society, but until recently, she has not been the subject of academic focus. Hence, very little has come to light regarding the variegated facets of her personality ranging from socio-economic status to psychosocial-problems.

True, that Kashmir has the credit of producing a roll of illustrious women, who have played significant role in fashioning the distinctive socio-cultural and religio-political make up of Kashmiri society. But this applied to the section of Kashmir women who belonged to ruling elite and other aristocratic sections.

The real image and portrayal of Kashmir woman remained unattended as she was trusted to be an untouchable and unhistorical for any discussion and discourse, focusing and projecting few women of royal status never qualifies in any sense cataloguing the true history of Kashmir women.⁹ The marginalized Kashmiri woman expressed themselves in different varieties of Kashmir popular literature. No study of a society is considered complete without a reference to the position of woman in it. The position of woman in a society reflects the cultural level, mental refinement and the standard of its civilization.¹⁰ The ancient historical literature bear evidence to the fact that woman in Kashmir enjoyed the maximum degree of freedom and liberty.¹¹ No socio-religious pursuit or exercise was deemed complete without the active participation of woman.¹² With the establishment of Muslim Sultanate in the fourteenth century, woman in Kashmir receive new incentives to continue their literary pursuits.¹³ This is evidenced by a galaxy of celebrated ladies of Kashmir produced during the period. But the dawn of Afghan rule in Kashmir signaled an unending period of gloom, aversion and degeneration.¹⁴ In the wake of Afghan rule not only the political fortunes of the state underwent a drastic change but the social institutions as well did not remain unaffected – Kashmiri woman, who once occupied a prominent position in the social milieu of Kashmir, went into the deep oblivion, obscurity, ignorance illiteracy, disease and dependence.¹⁵ Her response

reaction and the protest against the injustice to which she was subject to, found expression in no other form as in the folk songs of “*Roah* and *Wanvun*.”¹⁶

Early Marriage

Though the popular literature does not provide us any definite clue which may help us to ascertain the actual marriageable age of Kashmir girl, but we can infer from innumerable folk expressions that girls were married at the very early age in Kashmir¹⁷.

The custom of marrying boys and girls at an early age among both Muslims and Hindus came into vogue during the rule of the Afghans¹⁸. An Afghan would not molest a married woman, however, pretty. So the only remedy to save the person and honour of a woman was marrying her young¹⁹. The evil practice continued beyond the Afghan rule until its prohibition by law during recent years. Under the Afghan who subjected the people in general to great hardships woman became the special target of their licentious behaviour. Kashmiri woman irrespective of caste or creed, were physically and spiritually shattered; their presence in every sphere of social activity was totally eclipsed²⁰.

Food and Drink

Since the ancient times rice had been the staple food of Kashmir. Thus its failure resulted in a famine. Rice was cooked in a variety of ways generally it was boiled and then eaten, and some of it was kept overnight to be taken in the morning²¹.

Under Persian influence various kinds of *Pilvas*, like *Zard-Pilav*, *tursh-Pilav* and *Shulla-Pilav*, were introduced.²² Very little wheat was consumed, because it was not much grown in the country²³. Barely was regarded as a simple food, fit only for poor, or for those who had renounced the world,²⁴ meat, fish, eggs and vegetables had since ancient times been the most important articles of Kashmiri diet and continued to be so under the Muslims²⁵. Pork was eaten by large section of Hindus in pre Islamic period²⁶.

The staple food during the Afghan period was rice, fish, and various vegetables. The Mughals were epicurean by temperament and were given to the pleasure of the table.

They introduced their choicest cuisine and the Kashmiri cook learnt the preparation of Gashtaba, Kabab, Roganjosh, later the Afghans added their bread and Pilao to his rich repertoire.

Impact on Persian Language

The history of cultural relations between Kashmir and Persia goes back to ancient times. This is evident from the tiles of the Harvan monastery near Srinagar and from the ancient sculptures of Kashmir which bear unmistakably sasanian characteristics²⁷. Similarly sasanian influence can be detected in the use of official designation like debir or divira (after the Persian dabir) and ganjavara (after the Persian Ganjwar)²⁸. Nevertheless until the fourteenth century, the dominant note in Kashmir culture had been Indian. It was only with foundation of the Sultanate that more profound and enduring links were established with the centre of Persian culture and as a result, the Indian influence was gradually replaced by the Perso-Islamic element, though it was never completely eliminated but with the increasing patronage extended to Persian scholarship by the Sultans, Sanskrit receded to the background and Kashmiri students switched over to the study of Persia, which became the language of educated classes and even found its way into the villages. The process was completed during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. Therefore, Kashmir produced poets and writers in Persia whose beauty of style and depth of thought equaled that of the literatures of Persia, if that country is proud of its firdousi, Hafiz, Rumi and Nizami, Kashmir is equally proud of its Sarfi, Ghani and Hubbi. Hafiz was not indulging in poetic imagination when he sung²⁹.

“The black-eyed beauties of Kashmir and the Turks of Samarkand sing and dance to the strains of Hafiz of Shiraz’s Verse”.

With the advent of Mughal rule Persian scholarship attained new heights in Kashmir; not only were extensive works written on subjects – like medicine, astronomy, mathematics, philosophy and religion but there appeared gems in poetry, literature, history, biography and travel. Persian language suited the temperament and taste of the Kashmirian scholars. The peaceful rule of the Mughals and the generous patronage that

the Emperors and their governors bestowed on learning and literature resulted in a full blown of Persian scholarship in Kashmir. And its sons and daughters carried to, and propagated the language in not only the narrow confines of the valley but all over the India no wonder Kashmir acquired the epithet of *Iran-i-Saghir* or the little Iran³⁰.

When the decline of Mughals became certain it was by nature that its impact was found on all shades of life and society, but still there was not complete collapse, it was only when Kashmir become the part of Afghanistan in 1753, things turned different. Its one reason was that Afghans were basically Warriors³¹ and had a little interest towards developmental activities. But this impact was not seen on Persia language which had by then reached to its climax.

No doubt political uncertainty which was the hall mark of Afghan government in Kashmir, affected negatively almost all shades of life, but it is quite surprising that the discipline of Persian scholarship witnessed unimaginable upward direction. Though most of the Afghan governors possessed little interests in the promotion of art and learning but during the governorship of Sukh Jiwan Mal (1753-1762) literary activities reached to unexpected heights. It was during this period that poets were provided every kind of incentive to undertake multiple of projects which aimed to translate Persian classics in other languages and particularly effort was made to bring out a comprehensive history of Kashmir on the model of “*Shahnama*” of Firdusi, one of the famous literary work. Other poets who rose to the position of excellence under the Afghans are as:

Mullah Muhammad Taufiq

Mullah Muhammad Taufiq belonged to the family of Judoha, and resided in the vicinity of Jami Masjid, Srinagar. He was a pupil of Mullah Sati, and became a well known poet of his time. Taufiq is regarded by some as next only to Ghani. At any rate, in the time of Sukh Jiwan Mal, governor during early Afghan rule, he occupied the foremost position among the poets of the day. In addition to his Diwan, he has written treatise entitled Shaibt, Sarufa, Bahi-i-lavil³².

Mirza Muhtasham Khan Fida

Mirza Muhtasham Khan Fida was the son of an official of rank, Mirza Matanat Khan. After finishing his study Muhtasham went to Hindustan in the Prime of his youth. *Muin-w-Mulk Ibn Qamar-ud-Din Khan*, the governor of Lahore, was struck with his intelligence and offered him employment, which the Mirza accepted. On the death of Muin-ul-Mulk muhtasham returned to Kashmir and entered the service of Haji Karimdad Khan, the Afghan governor of Kashmir, Muhtasham died in 1782 A.D. He was murid of *Miyam Gul Muhammad Kanggal*, a spiritual leader of the time³³.

Mulla Ashraf Dairi

Mulla Ashraf Dairi Bulbul was born in 1093 A.H. = 1682 A.C., in the village Ashmandar, near Mitrigam, in the Pulwama tahsil. His father was Mulla Da'ud. Bulbul died in the neighbouring village of Dairi in 1170 A.H. = 1756 A.C, when the musician Mozart was born, or four years after the end of Mughal rule in Kashmir. He is the Nizami of Kashmir in respect of his Khamsa which consist of – (i) *Himal Nagrai*, (ii) *Hasht Asrar*, (iii) *Mihr-o-Mah*, (iv) *Hasht Tamhid*, (v) *Riza-nama*³⁴.

Abdul Wahhab Sha'iq

Abdul Wahhab Sha'iq was a resident of Srinagar. After his early education, he went out on his travels in pursuit of further studies. When he returned, he set up as a teacher in a small village called Dachhna, near Bandipora on the Wular, in order to lead a retired life of quiet and contentment. When Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal called for poets to compose the *Shah-nama* of Kashmir, Mulla Sha'iq came to Srinagar. On a rupee a couplet he was engaged on to versified history of Kashmir which, on the tragedy of Sukh Jiwan Mal, was left incomplete. This history is in manuscript, and consists of 60,000 couplets as already stated at the outset of this section.

Pastimes

Among the games played during the medieval times Polo held a place of honour. Every town and city has a Polo ground called Chawgan³⁵ and where there was none; the

game was played in the main thoroughfare and watched the people from shops and windows. The game was perhaps introduced into Kashmir from Gilgit where it is still popular. Ali Shah Chak (1570-78) was very fond of the game and lost his life as a result of a fall from his Pony while playing it at Iddgah in Srinagar.

The game of the common people was the simple version of Polo-hockey. We have a reference to this game in a saying of Lalles Wari, wherein she explains from a metaphor drawn from this game that instructions given to the foolish worldly man returns to the giver, as a hockey ball bounds back when it strikes a goal-pillar and misses the goal³⁶.

There were other martial games too like single-strikes and fights with slings for the people to amuse themselves with³⁷. The favourite pastimes of the royalty and of Afghan nobility were hunting.

In tune with the available sources, Kashmiris under Afghans developed a unique set of recreational activities to provide them comfort and solace amid great psychological strains. These pastimes include, boating race, enjoying musical parties during summer nights on the waters of famous Dal Lake etc.

This gay spirit stood the people in good stead during the tyrannous days of later rulers. George Forster who visited in 1783, when it was ruled by an Afghan tyrant, Azad Khan, observes³⁸:

“The Kashmirians are gay and lovely people, with strong propensities to pleasure none are more eager to the pursuit of wealth, have more inventive facilities in acquiring it, or who derive more modes of luxurious, expense, when a Kashmiri, even of the lower order, finds himself in the possession of ten Shillings, he loses no time in assembling his party, and language into the lack, solaces himself till the last farthing is spent. Nor can the despotism of an Afghan government, which loads them with various oppressions and cruelty, eradicated this strong tendency to dissipation, yet their manners, it is said, have undergone a manifold change. Since the dismemberment of their country from Hindustan,

encouraged by the liberality and indulgence of Mughals, they gave a loose to their pleasure and the bent of their genius”.

Drama, Dance and Music

The Persian influences in the domain of performing arts though reached to artistic heights under the royal Mughal patronage but with the establishment of Afghan rule in Kashmir, There started a process of degeneration as the artists lost the patronage of ruling Afghan elite. However, the ‘*Hafiza Nagma*’, ‘*Sufiana*’ music and Kashmiri folk ‘*Chakri*’ and ‘*Bacha Nagma*’ attained tremendous public acknowledgement as the new means of popular entertainment.

The ‘*Dastaan goi*’ or storey telling art in Kashmir received new impetus during the harsh Afghan governance. Both climatic fluctuations and oppressive governing apparatus forced Kashmiris to develop new means of entertainment. As against ‘*Hafiza Nagma*’, which became a major recreational device to solicit the urge of Afghan governing elite, the common Kashmiri developed ‘*bacha nagma*’ as its substitute to entertain themselves. To fulfill the objective, Kashmiri poets undertook the job of translating several epic and love ballads of Persian classics into regional Kashmiri language. The people in rural Kashmir, more particularly during chilly winter nights managed to arrange story telling parties with a sole purpose to lessen the pain received as a result of Afghan brutality.

Conclusion

During the Afghan rule in Kashmir (1753-1819) though Kashmiris suffered a lot as a result of multiple factors, yet, the socio-cultural fabric did not witness a radical change. True, some Afghan families like, Bamzais’, Qazalbashis’, Afridis’, Khaibaries, settled in Kashmir and the valley began to be dotted by some Afghan colonies, but Kashmiri distanced themselves from such families as the roots of alienation and distress were so deep that even the religious connectivity could not eradicate them.

Since Persian continued to be an official language, the learned community of Kashmiri Pandits who had attained mastery in Persian scholarship rose to the position of eminence in Afghan governing culture. The revenue administration was exclusively handled by Kashmiri Pandits. The most astonishing feature in the domain of culture under the Afghan governance in Kashmir was that there ushered a new era of literary bloom even amid appalling heights of Afghan brutality. Kashmir produced roll of eminent poets in Persian language who won great name and fame in the literary circles of Persian scholarship. Alongside the creative artistic pursuits, different genres of folk literature and art assumed new heights of performing beauty. The Kashmiri '*Bhand Pather*' and Kashmiri folk '*chorus*' known as '*chakri*', in vernacular became the major recreational devices to delight common Kashmiris.

In tune with the Afghan fashion in dress, Kashmiris adopted a dress code having close resemblance with Afghan dress code. The body wears like wide trousers, '*Sadri*', '*Qameez*' bear direct imprint of Afghan influence.

The most noteworthy contribution of Afghan rule in Kashmir, in the socio-culture discipline was the issuance of coins by Afghan governor Atta Mohammad Khan (1806-1813) in the name of national saint poet of Kashmir (Shaikh Nur-ud-Din Rishi). The Saint is considered to be a symbol of Kashmiris composite culture and plural social fabric.

Though being Muslims, Afghans never allowed religion in shaping their state policy. Most of the Afghan governors deputed to Kashmir from Kabul, often showed total disconnect from the centre and this speaks volumes about their personality and fragile commitment. The lust for wealth, power and authority marked the chief features of Afghan governance in Kashmir. Among Muslims, some families like *Bandays*, *Naqash Bandhis*, *Kanths* and *Begs*, assumed prominence for having close association with the Afghan official cadres.

The serious study of literary and oral evidences tend us to believe that Kashmiri feminine beauty received an irreparable loss due to the scandalous character of Afghan

nobility. The women folk of respectable Muslim and Hindu families preferred to remain indoors and '*purdah*' began to be used by well off Muslim and Hindu women folk with serious strictness.

Notes and References

- 1) Hassnain Nedeem Society and Culture Page 4-5.
- 2) Stein M.A Kings of Kashmir, p. 174.
- 3) Hasam Mahibubul, Kashmir under Sultans.
- 4) Fazal Abul Ani-i-Akbar II, p. 353.
- 5) Khohami Hasan, Tawarikh-i-Hasan, MSS
- 6) Bamzai, P.N.K, p. 478.
- 7) Kaw Mushtaq, *The Agrarian History of Kashmir*, (1586-1819), p. 191.
- 8) Ibid, p. 196.
- 9) Dr. Fayaz Farooq, *Kashmir Folklore A Study in Historical Prespective*.
- 10) Women Position in Society, encyclopedia of the Social Science Vol. xv
- 11) Ved, Kumari Ghai (Tr), the Nilmata Purana (Eng) translation Vol I.
- 12) Ibid
- 13) Mohd, Ishak Khan, *Kashmir's Transaction to Islam*.
- 14) S. L. Shali, Kashmir History and Archeology through Ages. According to Pt. Ramjoo Dhar "No beautiful or married woman could pass through unmolested," Kifat-i-Intizami-i-Mulk-i-Kashmir. In Governor Abdualh Kahn's time such incidents occurred very frequently Syed Bazruk Shah raised his voice against the ruler, Abdullah Khan but still the Afghan governor ____ not hesitate indulging in such activities Morrcroft, Ms. EURO.
- 15) See Bazaz, Prem Nath, *Daughters of Vitasta*.
- 16) M.Y. Tang *Kashur Culture Luk Betan Hendis Enes Munas* (Anhar Kashmir Deptt. of Kashur UK).
- 17) Farooq op.cit.,p. 73.
- 18) Bamzai, op. cit., p. 519.
- 19) Pandit Anand Koul, *The Kashmir Pandit* p. 33.
- 20) Bazaz, op. cit. p. 16.
- 21) A-Ain-Akberi II. p. 353

- 22) Tuhfatul-i-Ahbab p.109.
- 23) Srivara p. 274.
- 24) Ibid, p. 276.
- 25) Marocopolo 1, p. 166.
- 26) Stein, op. cit., No II 49.
- 27) Kak, *Handbook of Partab Singh Museum*, p. 405.
- 28) Stein, op. cit., Vol. No p. 177.
- 29) Browne, *Literary History of Persia III*. p. 283
- 30) Bamzai, op. cit., p. 569.
- 31) Doctorate Thesis of M.M Masoodi p. 126
- 32) Sofi, G. M. D., Vol. II, p. 473.
- 33) Ibid, 478.
- 34) Ibid, 479.
- 35) The open Piateau near Kishtwar Town is still called *Chawgan*.
- 36) Temple, *The Word of Lalla*, p. 208.
- 37) Lawrence op. cit., P. 252.
- 38) Bamzai, op. cit., p. 529.

A light gray rectangular box with rounded corners and a subtle drop shadow on its left side. The word "Bibliography" is centered within the box in a black, italicized serif font.

Bibliography

Manuscripts (Persian)

1. **‘Ajiz Koul Narain**, *Mukhtasar Ta’rikh-i Kashmir*, (C. 1710), Per. ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar.
2. **A’zam Muhammad**, *Waqi’at-i Kashmir*, (C. 1746-47), Per. ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar.
3. *Ahbab Tuhfatu-i*, (C. 16th century) anonymous, Per. ms., R & P. Deptt., Srinagar.
4. **Ahmad Mir**, *Dasur-al Amal-i Kashmir*, (C. 1835), Per. ms., Ranjit Singh Museum, Patiala.
5. **Baqa Sheikh Muhammad**, *Mirat-al ‘Alam*, Per. ms., Abdul Salam Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh (84/314).
6. **Dhar Ramjoo**, *Intizami Mulk-i Kashmir*, (C. 1883), Per. ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar, ff. 3ab.
7. **Kachru Birbal**, *Majmu’at Tawarikh*, (C. 1835), Per. ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar.
8. **Khanyari, Ghulam Nabi**, *Wajiz-ut Tawarikh*, (C. 1883), Per. Ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar.
9. **Malik Haider**, *Ta’rikh-i Kashmir*, (C. 1620-21) Per. Ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar; Bodl. Microfilm, no. 303; ed. & trans. Razia Bano, Delhi, 1991.
10. **Mirjanpuri Khalil**, *Ta’rikh-i Kashmir*, (C.1846-57), Per ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar.
11. **Munami Muhammad Aslam**, *Gouhar-i Alam*, (C. 1785-86) Per. ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar.
12. **Pandit Nath**, *Gulshan-i Dastur*, (C. 1753-54), Per. ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar.
13. **Shah Hasan**, *Ta’rikh-i Hasan*, (C. 1885), Per. ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar.

14. **Shahabadi Sa'dullah**, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*, (C. 1787-93), Per. ms., R & P Deptt., Srinagar.

Published and translated Persian and Sanskrit Works

1. **A'zam Muhammad**, *Waqi'at-i-Kashmir*, Urdu trans. from Persian, Munshi Ashraf Ali, Delhi, 1846.
2. **Alvi Abd Al Karim**, *Ta'rikh-i Ahmad* [Ahmad Shah Durani], (C. 1839-46), Per. text., R & P Deptt. Sriangar, 1847, (20921).
3. **Alyazdu Sharfu-'d Din**, *Safar Nama*, ed. Mirza Ibrahim and Ibni Mirza Shah Rukh, Shiraz, 1888.
4. **Bada'uni**, *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*, ed., Ali Ahmad and Lees, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1864-69; Eng. Trans., Sir Wolseley Haig, 3 vols., Calcutta 1925.
5. **Dughlat Mirza Haider**, *Ta'riksh-i Rashidi*, Eng. trans from Persian, E. Denison Ross and N. Elias, A History of the Mughals of Central Asia, Patna, 1973.
6. **Fauq Muhammad Din**, *Ta'rikh-i-Aqwam-i Kashmir*, Sriangar, 1988.
7. **Fazl Abu-i**, *A in-I Akbari*, ed. Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1969; Eng. Trans., H. Blockmann, Calcutta, 1973; H. S Jarrett, Calcutta reprint 1993.
8. **Fazl Abu-I**, *Akbar Nama*, ed., Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1867; Eng. Trans., H. Beveridge, Delhi, 1973.
9. **Firishata Muhammad Qasim**, *Ta'rikh-i Firishta*, ed. Nawal Kishore, Lucknow, 1903.
10. **Jahangir**, *Tuzuk-i Jahangiri*, ed. Nawal Kishore, Lucknow; Eng. trans., Alexander Rogers and Heney Beveridge, Delhi, 1968.
11. **Jonaraja**, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. trans from Sanskrit, J. C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmira*, Calcutta, 1879-98, Delhi, reprint, 1979.

12. **Kalhana**, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. Trans. from Sanskrit, M. A. Stein, 2 vols. Delhi, 1979.
13. **Kazim Muhammad**, '*Alamgir Nama*, ed. Khadim Husain and Abdu-I Hai, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1913-46.
14. **Khan Khafi**, *Muntakhab-al Lubab*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta, 1868; Urdu trans., Mehmud Ahamd Farooqi, Karachi, 1963.
15. **Khan Mirza Abud-'I Qadir**, *Aimaq-i Mughal*, (C. 1901), Per. texts, General Book Agency, Rose Bazar, Amritsar.
16. **Khan Saqi Musta'id**, *Ma'asir-Alamgiri*, Eng. trans., J. N. Sarkar, A History of Aurangzed, 1658-1707, Calcutta, 1947; Urdu trans., Muhammad Fida Ali Talib, Karachi, 1958.
17. Lahori Abd Al Hamid, *Badshah Nama*, Abd Al Rahim, *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1868/1887.
18. **Ni'amatullah**, *Ta'rikh-i-Khan Jahan-wa-Makhzan-i Afghani* (A Complete History of the Afghans in Indo-Pak Sub-continent), ed., S. M. Iman Al Din, Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dacca, 1960.
19. **Ram Diwan Kripa**, *Gulzar-i Kashmir*, Per text, Lahore, 1870.
20. **Shah Hasan**, *Ta'rikh-i Hasan*, Per. text., R & P Deptt., Srinagar,; Urdu trans. from Persia, Mouli Ibrahim, *Ta'rikh-i Kashmir*, Srinagar 1957.

Foreign Sources/Travel Accounts

1. **Forster George**, *A Journey from Bengal to England Through Northern Parts of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Persia and into Russia by the Caspian Sea*, (1782-84), 2 vols., London, 1909-14.
2. **Izzatullah Mir**, *Sayahat Nama*, Eng. trans., from Persian, Captain Handerson, *Travels in Central Asia*, (1812), Calcutta, 1872.

3. **Vigne G. T.**, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardoo, Countries adjoining the Mountains courses of the Indus and the Himalaya, north of the Punjab*, 2 vols. London, 1842.
4. **William Foster**, *Early Travels in India*, (1583-1619), Oxford, 1921. It is basically a collection of the narratives of Fitch, Mildenhall, Hawkins, Finch, Withington, Coryat and Terry.
5. **William Moorcroft and George Trebeck**, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kunduz and Bokhara*, (1819-23), 2 vols. London, 1841; reprint, 1992.

Letters/Administrative Records/Revenue Documents

1. A document of the year (unclear) seeks to restore and confirm the **grant of a Jagir** in cash amounting to 68,100 dams in favour of *Jagidhar* Lutfullah S/o Abdu-'I Karim in pargana Dachinpora (Document no. 574/11, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
2. A document of the year 1178 A.H (1765 A.D) showing one Khwaja Rehman and Khwaja Amin **selling their hereditary, occupancy and milkiyati rights** on a tract of land measuring 8 *patts* in village Nadihal of parganan Khoi (Document no. 528/5, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
3. A document of the year 1178 A.H. (1765 A.D) features the **sale of milkiyati rights** on a piece of *baghi* land in pargana Nagam against an amount of 337 'Alamgiri rupees. (Document no. 574/24, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
4. A document of the year 1187 A.H (1773 A.D.) showing one Ni'amatullah Malik s/o Habibullah Malik **selling his right of exacting revenue on a portion of land** in pargana Nagam that was productive of *shali*, cotton

and barley of the superior kind called Jins-i-awal, to one Musmmati ‘Aqila Bi Bi D/o Abdu-‘I Qasim against an amount of 250 rupees (Document no. 608/19, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).

5. A document of the year 1188 A.H. (1774 A.D.) pertains to a **waqf grant in cash** in villages of Naman, Hogam and Arwi of pargana Nagam, Dachinpara and *Sairul Muwazai* respectively for the maintenance of a shrine and *langer* (Kitchen) attached therewith plus a host of mendicants, *mujawiran khadiman* (Servants), *mutawalli* (curators) and other poor and needy persons (Document no. 574/27, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
6. A document of the year 1190 A.H. (1776 A.D) showing the **sale of 480 kharwars of shali** amounting to Rs. 60/- by one Baba Muhammad Maqsood S/o Baba Abdu-‘I Hakim to Shahzada Bano D/o Hazurullah Paul in village Naribal, pargnan *Sairal Muwazai*. Both the vendor and the vendee resided at Kalashpora, Sriangar (Document no. 574/33, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
7. A document of the year 1201 A.H. (1787 A.D) showing the **sale and transfer of possession and ownership rights** on a plot of land at Kalashpora, Srinagar (Document no. 574/25, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
8. A document of the year 1201 A.H. (1788 A.D) showing the **private individuals holding possession, cultivating and ownership rights** on both abi and khushki types of land in rural areas. Their rights could be easily inherited or transferred as and when thought necessary. (Document no. 559/3, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
9. A document of the year 1207 A.H. (1793 A.D) showing the **sale of possession and ownership rights** on a poorun of land for 2 rupees at Kalashpora, Srinagar (Document no. 528/21, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).

10. A document of the year 1212 A.H. (1798 A.D.) characterizes the **sale of a plot of land** together with a house and a fruit bearing garden for an amount of rupees 1,000. The vendor thereby transferred all sorts of rights, i.e., possession, use and ownership of the above articles of property to the vendee (un-accessioned), R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
11. A document of the year 1222 A.H. (1808 A.D.) showing one Farzana Begum of Dholipora, Khanyar **selling her entire land** along with the residential house, fruit bearing trees of grapes, pomegranates and rose plants to one Sayid Umer (Document no 2392, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
12. A document showing the **transfer and sale of possession and milkiyati rights** on a certain plot of land and a residential house located at *Khanqah-i-Mohalla*, Srinagar (Document no. 2492. R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
13. A *hiba-nama* (Gift-deed) of the year 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D) indicates one Mahtab Bi Bi **giving in gift** variety of objects in kind and cash such as carpets, furnishing, tree, ornaments of gold and silver and other articles of property situated at Pir Haji Muhammad Sahib, Jamalatta near ‘Ali Kadal, Srinagar (Document no. 574/26, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
14. A **sale deed** of the year 1149 A.H. (1736 A.D.) in which one Sabur Rather is shown to have **sold one piece of cultivable ‘abl land** against a poultry amount of 60 *tankas* in village Naihal, pargana Sairul Muwazai (Document no. 559/4, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
15. **Aurangzeb**, *Ahkam-i ‘Alamgiri*, Hamidu-‘d Din Khans Collection of letters and order issued by the Emperor, ed. J. N. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1926. We have a collection of Aurangzeb’s letters under the similar title with the difference that the letters in the latter case have been compiled by

Inayatullah Khan (1725). Its copy is preserved in the India Office Library, London (3887).

16. **Aurangzeb**, *Kalimat-i Taiyabat*, (C. 1719), Inayatullah Khans Collection of letters and orders, Abdul Salam Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh (322/92).
17. **Aurangzeb's** Farman to Rasikdas Karori, ed. J. N. Srkar, *Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1906.
18. Dastur-al 'Amal, Aurangzeb, Edinburgh University Library, Persian Sectoin.
19. Document of the year 1190 A.H. (1176 A.D) points to the **sale of 160 kharwars of shali** by one Umer Baba to Musmmati Sagira of Dar village Naribal, pargnan *Sairul Muwazai* undertook to deliver the said quantity annually to the buyer for a period of 79 years. Qasim Dar was the cultivator who possessed and cultivated the said piece of the land of the done (Document no. 574/7, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
20. Document of the year 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.) showing a certain amount of **money provided as charity** for the maintenance of a host of servants (Khadiman) attached with several shrines (Document no. 574/34, R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
21. *Ghulam Sarwar's Paper*, National Archives, New Delhi.
22. *Haqiqat-i-dami-wa-hasilat-i-Mamalik-i-Mehrusa*, (Bahadur Shah's reign), Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh (900/21).
23. **Jagat Ra'i Shuja'i Kayath Saksena**, *Farhang-i-Kardani* (C. 1679). Per.ms Abdul Salam Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh (85/315).
24. Letters of Father Joseph de Castro, August 15, 1627, ed., & trans. Rev. Hosten, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXIII, no.1.

25. **Madad'I M'ash grant** (1187 A.H. / 1773 A.D.) amounting to 54/700 *dams* offered to one Mushmmati 'Aqila Bi Bi in village Naman of pargana Nagam. The grantee was authorized to realizes such amount from the respective village which in all yielded a revenue of 1,09,400 *dams* (Document no. 574/25. R & P Deptt., Srinagar).
26. **Munshi Har Karan**, *Insha'i Har Karan* (Jahangir's reign), Per.ms. R & P Deptt., Srinagar (1302); Sulaiman Collection, Maulana Azad Library, Aligarh (406/139).

**Journals / Seminar Proceedings / Epigraphic Source / Dictionary/
Gazetteer/Enclopaedia**

1. **Banerjee Bireswar**, 'Indian Village Community: Evolution and Transformation,' *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. 16, Calcutta, 1974.
2. **Chandra S.**, 'Social Background of the Rise of the Maratha Movement during the 17th Century,' *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 1973.
3. **Chandra S.**, 'Some Aspects of Indian Village Society in Northern India during the 18th Century,' *Indian Historical Review*, I, 1974.
4. **Dr. Modi Jiwanji Jamshedji**, 'A Few Persian Inscription of Kashmir,' *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, Vol. II, no. 2, 1939.
5. **Grover B. R.**, 'Elements of Continuity and Change in Land Ownership Rights from the Mughal Age to the Early British Administration in India,' Proceedings, *Indian History Congress*, Medieval Section, 37th Session, Calicut, 29-31 December, 1976.
6. **Grover B. R.**, 'Nature of Land Rights in Mughal India,' *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, I, 1963.
7. **Kathi Darwaza Inscription**, Hari Parbat hillock, Srinagar.
8. **Kaw M. A.**, 'Some Features of the Begar in Kashmir,' *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, No, 4, 1990.
9. **Khan Mohammad Ishaq**, 'Some Aspects of Corvee (*Begar*) in Kashmir, AD. 833-1858,' *Research Biannual*, Srinagar.
10. **Malik Zahir-ud-Din**, 'Later Mughals, 1708-48' *Medieval India – A Miscellany*, Aligarh.

11. **Moosvi S.**, 'Magnitude of Land Revenue Demand and the Income of the Mughal Ruling Class under Akbar,' *Medieval India-A Miscellany*, IV, Aligarh, 1977.
12. **Moreland W. H.**, 'Price and Wages under Akbar,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1917.
13. **Moreland W. H.**, 'The Parganan Headman (Chaudhuri) of the Mughal Empire,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, London, 1938.
14. **Mukhlis Anand Ram**, *Mirat-al Istilah* (C. 1745), ed. Anjuman-i-Taraqi-i-Urdu Library, Aligarh.
15. **Qaisar A. J.**, 'Distribution of the Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire among the Nobility,' Proceedings, *Indian History Congress*, Allahabad Session, 1965.
16. **Rafiqi A. Q.**, 'Socio-Economic Conditions as Depicted in *Tuhfatu-'I Ahbab*,' *Indian Council of Historical Research*, Seminar held in the Deptt. of History, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, 16th-18th May, 1983.
17. **Rana R. P.**, 'Agrarian Revolts in Northern India during the late 17th and early 18th Century,' *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. XVIII, No's 3 and 4.
18. **Shahjahan's Farman**, *Inscription Jamia Masjid*, Srinagar.

Modern Works

1. **Abdul Aziz**, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delhi, Delhi, reprint, 1972.
2. **Arthur, Marwick**, *The Nature of History*, p. 131.
3. **Ashraf K. M.**, *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, Delhi, 1959.
4. **Bamzi, P.N.K.**, *Political and Cultural History*.
5. **Bazaz Nath Prem**, *Daughters of Vitasta*.
6. **Bazaz Prem Nath**, *Freedom Struggle in Kashmir*, 9. 89.
7. **Bernade, Bailyn**, *The Problem of Working Historian*, p. 92.
8. **Bhagat, M.S.**, *bhand pather*, p. 119, for details see, *Kashmir Luk Pather* by M.S. Bhagat.
9. **Bhat Ghulam Rasool**, *Tarikh-i-Morikh-i-Kashmir*.
10. **Browne**, *Literary History of Persia*.
11. **Chopra P. N.**, *Some Aspects of Social Life during the Mughal Age (1526-1707)*, Jaipur, 1963.
12. **Data K. K.**, *Survey of India's Social Life and Economic Conditions in the Eighteenth Century*, Calcutta. 1961.
13. **Dharamphal**, *Indian Society and Technology in the Eighteenth Century: Some Contemporary European Accounts*, 1971.
14. **Durant Will**, *Age of Faith*, New York, 1950.
15. **Durant Will**, *Our Oriented Heritage*, New York, 1954.
16. **Elliot and Dowson**, *History of India as told by its Historians*, vol. 8, London, 1867.
17. **F. Fayaz**, "Mughal Aesthetics and Cultural Documents" published in The Journal of Kashmir Studies, University of Kashmir, Vol. 6, No. 1. p. 64.

18. **F. Fayaz**, “*Social Discontent and Protest Contours*” published in ‘*Sheeraza*’ English, J&K Cultural Academy, Vol. 40, No. 3-4. P. 74.
19. **Fayaz Farooq**, *Kashmir Folk Lore; A Study in Historical Perspective*.
20. **Folk Mohiuddin**, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir Mukamal*.
21. **G.A. Lundberg**, *Social Research*, p. 82.
22. **Goodhart A. L.**, *Jurisprudence and Legal Essays*: London, 1963.
23. **H.B. George**, *Historical Evidence Confound*, p. 12.
24. **Hangloo, R. L.**, *The State in Medieval Kashmir*, p.115.
25. **Hasan Mohib’ul**, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Delhi, 1974.
26. **Hassnain Nadeem**, *Society and Culture*.
27. Ibid.
28. **Irvine William**, *Later Mughals* Vol. II.
29. **Kak**, *Handbook of Pratab Singh Museum*.
30. *Kashmiri Folk Song* Vol. II, No. 3, Cultural Academy, p. 101.
31. **Kaw Mushtaq**, *The Agrarian History of Kashmir*, (1586-1819).
32. **Khan Muhammad Ishaq**, *Kashmir’s Transaction to Islam*.
33. **Koul Pandit Anand**, *Kashmir Pandits*.
34. **Koul S. N.**, *Kashmir Economics*, Srinagar, 1954.
35. **Lambton A. K. S.**, *Landlord and Peasant in Persian*, London, 1953.
36. **Lawrence Walter**, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Srinagar, 1967.
37. **Leon J. Goldstein**, *Historical Knowing*, p. 83.
38. **M.L. Kemmu**, *Bhand Natiyam*, p. 108.
39. **Mattoo Abdul Majid**, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, Kashmir, 1988.
40. **Mukjerji N. G.**, *Handbook of Indian Agriculture*, Calcutta, 1915.
41. **Munshi Abdul Karim**, *Waqat-i-Durrani*.
42. **Narain Brij**, *Indian Economic Life: Past and Present*, Lahore, 1929.

43. **Ojha P. N.**, *Some Aspects of North Indian Social Life, 1556-1707*, Patna, 1961.
44. **Parmu R. K.**, *A History of Mulish Rule in Kashmir, 1320 to 1819*, New Delhi, 1969.
45. Quoted by G.N. Atish in his unpublished article *Afghan Governance as Reflected in Kashmiri Folk, Verse*.
46. **R.G. Collingwood**, *The Idea of History*, p. 28.
47. **Rafiqi A. Q.**, *Sufism in Kashmir from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, Delhi.
48. **Rao S.V.** *History of Kashmir, upto 1947*.
49. **Ray Sunil Chandra**, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, New Delhi.
50. **S.L. Srivastava**, *Folk Culture and Oral Tradition*, p. 202.
51. **Saleem Muhammad**, *History of Medieval Kashmir*.
52. Sarkar, J., *History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1952.
53. **Singh Ganda**, *Ahmad Shah Durrani*, Bombay, 1965.
54. **Smith V. A.**, *Akbar the Great Mughal, 1542-1605*, Oxford, 1917.
55. **Sufi G. M. D.**, *Kashir*, 2 Vols. New Delhi, 1974.
56. *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Cambridge, 1968.
57. **Tripathi R. P.**, *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, Allahabad, 1936.